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ABSTRACT

General (Statewide) school desegregation trends, as well as specific data from various Massachusetts school districts are presented in this report. The first section compares State support of desegregation efforts in Massachusetts with that of other northern States, outlines areas for which State funding is disbursed, and describes the relation between State and Federal requirements for school desegregation. The second section compares Statewide public school enrollment data for 1974, 1978, and 1982, and outlines enrollment trends for White, Black, Hispanic, and Asian/Native American student categories. The third section addresses funding issues, specifically as related to racial equity. The remainder of the report is divided into individual chapters on desegregation efforts in a number of Massachusetts cities, including Boston, Brockton, Cambridge, Chelsea, Framingham, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, Lynn, Medford, Methuen, New Bedford, Springfield, and Worcester. (GC)

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Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity
The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
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1385 Hancock Street, Quincy, Massachusetts 02169

TO: Commissioner John H. Lawson

Please accept our annual report, for 1983, on school desegregation in Massachusetts.

Compared with previous reports, this one lays more stress upon the educational benefits reported by school systems as a result of the desegregation process and the use of Chapter 636 state funds to strengthen affected schools. These benefits include the changing student attitudes which have been so well documented in Springfield, and which show that real integration is occuring in at least some schools which have been desegregated.

Educational progress and increased parent and student choice have been the untold story of desegregation in Massachusetts. We trust that this report, while by no means overlooking issues of compliance, will help to redress the balance.

Much of the discussion of Holyoke, Lawrence and Lowell in this report is by Michael Alves. Judith Taylor, Paula Willis and Regina Rogan assisted in the collection and analysis of information.

RECOMMENDATIONS

(1) Continued support for Chapter 636 funding, especially for magnet schools, is a direct investment in urban education. More than fifty magnet schools are demonstrably effective in responding to the concerns of parents. The great majority of minority students in Massachusetts now receive benefits from Chapter 636. Increased funding and the designation of a small percentage of the funds for effective administration, evaluation, and technical assistance would strengthen the program.

(2) Adequate funding for desegregation-related construction is essential to Lawrence, Worcester, and other cities.

(3) Extension of eligibility for transportation reimbursements (now only four cities receive benefits) and full funding of the entitlements would represent significant relief for at least ten Massachusetts cities.

(4) The Board should expect to receive further desegregation plans from Lawrence and Springfield in April 1984.

Charles Glenn, Director

OVERVIEW

Massachusetts among the States page 6

Massachusetts is recognized as a leader in state equal educational opportunity efforts, as a result of vigorous but flexible enforcement and a variety of state financial supports for desegregation. This section of the Annual Report describes the major forms of support, and outlines the relation between state and federal requirements.

Statewide Enrollment Trends page 10

Minority enrollment has increased from 7.8% of the total public school enrollment in 1974 to 12.1% in 1982. Black enrollment has declined slightly to 57,405 in 1982, while Hispanic enrollment has increased sharply to 37,624 and Asian enrollment has more than doubled to 14,426.

Enrollment trends (1978 to 1982) are compared in the various desegregating school districts, and individual schools with significant enrollment changes are discussed. Brockton and Worcester have increasing Black enrollment. Chelsea and Lawrence lead the state in Hispanic enrollment increase, with Holyoke and Springfield also showing heavy increases. Asian enrollment is increasing sharply in a number of communities, and is not as heavily concentrated in major cities as is Black and Hispanic enrollment.

Nine Massachusetts high schools increased their Hispanic enrollment by more than 100 students between 1978 and 1982, creating an urgent need to assist them in meeting the needs of these students.

Funding and Legislative Developments page 18

Until recently the Racial Imbalance Law (Chapter 636) offered substantial support to systems desegregating Black students, but almost none to those whose minority students are largely Hispanic. In a number of recent amendments supported by the Board, the General Court has broadened the coverage of the Law and has increased the funding level significantly to benefit additional communities without harm to those already receiving assistance.

Boston page 23

Enrollment of Boston schools in 1970 and 1983 is compared to show the very substantial desegregation progress which has taken place; the schools are much less "racially identifiable" today. The current desegregation plan, though based upon involuntary assignments, operates within a framework of parent/student choice which is able to provide most with their first preferences. Educational opportunities appear to have improved substantially for minority students, though monitoring by the state has identified a number of areas of continuing concern. Those of special relevance to desegregation include: (1) recruitment for and enrollment of city-wide vocational programs, (2) program development and recruitment for schools which are failing to meet desegregation requirements, (3) preparation and support for minority students at the examination schools, and (4) development of a comprehensive secondary school plan to assure continuing progress in quality and equity of education.

Brockton page 31

Growing minority enrollment in several Brockton schools has created the need for a process to prevent isolation. Chapter 636 funds are supporting a magnet program which attracts white students to the most heavily minority school, and increasing the enrollment of minority students in this academically talented program. System-wide planning is also under way, with a stress on involvement of the community.

Cambridge page 33

Having desegregated by a mixture of conventional methods, the Cambridge schools are stabilizing enrollments by an innovative approach to student assignments. Each student entering the system must indicate school choices, and is then assigned on the basis of desegregation and other considerations, generally to one of the schools selected. Monitoring suggests that this approach is highly effective and could serve as a national model.

Chelsea page 37

Despite a rapid increase in minority enrollment in this community, EEO has found no effective way to assure that their needs are met and rights protected. Vocational opportunities are a recent focus of our efforts, and Chelsea will be a priority in 1984.

Framingham page 38

The only community covered in this Report which participates as a receiving community for the urban/suburban "Metco" desegregation program, Framingham has also experienced strong growth in Hispanic population, especially earlier in this decade. EEO has provided technical assistance to assure that program placements and school closing do not result in minority isolation or denial of educational opportunities.

Holyoke page 37

The model desegregation process and plan in Holyoke have helped to turn around the educational program as well. With a rapidly growing Hispanic population and low spending capacity, Holyoke continues to face major challenges, but this section identifies some of the elements of leadership and support which EEO finds encouraging.

Lawrence page 46

Assistance to the desegregation process in Lawrence has been one of EEO's top priorities in 1983, after several years of frustration. The process seems to be moving in a very positive direction at present, with a major effort to involve the community in considering final options on the basis of criteria which have been worked out locally. The Superintendent is committed to providing the School Committee with a plan in time for the Board's approval in April 1984.

Lowell page 53

After a promising start which resulted in the development of three successful magnet schools, Lowell's desegregation effort has been in a stall as a result of local policy differences. EEO is recommending that Lowell be permitted additional time to get four additional magnet schools moving before an alternative plan is required. Recent developments are fairly encouraging.

Lynn page 60

The Board made a finding of "racial imbalance" at the Washington School in 1977 and 1978, and the school became a magnet in response. Over recent years it has been generally desegregated. A priority for 1984 will be to help Lynn to think through the next steps which might come together into a comprehensive plan for long-term stability and equal opportunity.

Medford page 61

Medford adopted a desegregation plan in 1970, and amended it, with Board approval, in 1982. Two magnet schools function effectively under this amended plan. This section identifies the critical elements of the Medford planning process.

Methuen page 63

The desegregation plan adopted by Methuen and approved by the Board in 1980 depended upon construction of a new school. As a result of declining enrollments and fiscal considerations, the plan has never been implemented. Desegregation was effected by reassigning minority students out of a school damaged by fire.

New Bedford page 64

One of three Massachusetts communities (the others are Boston and Springfield) against which the Board has taken enforcement action on desegregation, New Bedford implemented a successful plan in 1977. This plan was amended, with Board approval, in 1981/82. EEO has a continuing concern about minority isolation at Carney Academy, a former magnet school, and has encouraged the system to consider voluntary measures to assure long-term stability.

Springfield page 66

This section discusses some of the educational elements of Springfield's highly successful desegregation program, implemented in stages since 1968. Evaluation data on Chapter 636-funded instructional programs and on integration progress (as reflected in student attitudes) is encouraging. Brief descriptions are provided of each of Springfield's magnet schools, and current planning for new desegregation (at the elementary, intermediate, and high school levels) is reviewed.

Worcester page 81

The Worcester desegregation process illustrates the power of parent choice to achieve educational diversity and integration. This section includes extended self-descriptions of three new magnet schools in Worcester, as well as a description of the process by which desegregation has developed in that community.

Appendices page 92

AMONG THE STATES

In general, state government and state education agencies have been perceived—correctly—as reluctant and ineffective defenders of the constitutional rights of minority students, including the right not to be segregated. During the first round of school desegregation cases, the laws and policies of the seventeen states with laws requiring racially-separate schools were a primary basis for ordering remedial plans.

More recently, desegregation litigation in the North has generally involved the states as defendants, and Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, and Indiana have been found guilty of contributing to unconstitutional racial segregation through policies and practices or through neglect of legal responsibilities. In response, and also as a result of the desire of the federal government to "get off the hook" of enforcing desegregation requirements, there has been considerable interest in the state role in desegregation and equal educational opportunity.

While thirty-nine states have passed some type of legislation or policy in support of equal opportunity and/or desegregation, only five states—Illinois, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania—have ever initiated enforcement actions to require that school systems eliminate racial isolation. We remain in close contact with our counterparts in these states. State action in Illinois has received a set-back in court; the Board of Education has vowed to press ahead on the basis of its constitutional obligations, using Massachusetts as a model.

Enforcement in Massachusetts was carried out from 1965 to 1974 on the basis of the Racial Imbalance Law, drafted by the Department of Education with the assistance of a Board-appointed study group. Under this statute racial balance plans were approved for Boston, Cambridge, Medford, and Springfield during the late 1960's; when implementation (mostly involving school construction) proved dilatory, the Board ordered development and implementation of "short-term" plans for Boston, New Bedford, and Springfield. In five rulings of the Supreme Judicial Court the Board's enforcement actions received strong encouragement.

The Racial Imbalance Law was drastically amended in 1974, substituting greatly increased funding for the power to order school redistricting. Since Boston and Springfield were already under court orders to implement the plans previously ordered by the Board, this seemed no great loss, and the next several years were taken up with setting up programs of financial support to desegregation which are unparalleled among the states.

Only three states—Massachusetts, New York, and Wisconsin—have appropriated state funds directly to support implementation of desegregation without being ordered to do so by a federal court. New York's $3 million racial balance fund was abolished in the early 1970's, while Wisconsin's more recent program of support for inter-district transfers is continuing strongly.

The Massachusetts program of support for desegregation has several interlocking elements, presented here in the order of their creation:

(1) Construction assistance has involved extra financial support for those construction/renovation projects which are undertaken as part of a racial balance plan; as noted, early plans generally called for building new schools with enlarged attendance areas which would draw racially-diverse enrollments. Schools have been built under this provision in Boston, Cambridge, New Bedford, and Springfield with a total cost of more than $600 million and state support of $370 million.

(2) Transportation reimbursement at 100% was originally established to support "Operation Exodus," a program organized by Black parents in white schools; it has since proved of tremendous benefit to Boston and Springfield, in particular, as they have implemented their court-ordered plans. Unfortunately, the program has been consistently under-funded.

(3) Urban/suburban transfers (commonly called "Metco" after the organization which pioneered and has continued to support the program) are supported by an appropriation of nearly $9 million in 1983-84; this pays for tuition, specialized support staff, and transportation costs for more than 3,100 minority students who attend suburban Boston and Springfield schools.

(4) The Equal Education Improvement Funds are set up for each system implementing a plan, and each fund receives a share of the funds appropriated proportionate to the number of students reassigned. The amount available had been $6 million each year since 1974-75, until it was increased to $7,308,900 for 1983-84 to cover additional school systems which are now eligible for inclusion. These funds may be used in any ways to strengthen education, subject to the guidelines and priorities established by the Board; for example, more than $10 million has supported the university/school partnerships in Boston.

(5) Magnet school funding supports additional costs of magnet schools, up to $300 per pupil, and also the costs of part-time magnet programs. These funds have been the "cutting edge" of state desegregation efforts, since they have permitted such systems as Lowell and Worcester to develop voluntary desegregation plans and to implement them with increased support for education. Fifty magnet schools currently share these funds, and represent models of integrated urban education. Last year the level of funding was raised to $3.5 million.

Over the past five years state efforts in Massachusetts have taken a new direction, as we have worked with school systems to develop and implement voluntary plans, using the standards of the United States Constitution rather than the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Law. Our goal has been to assure that the rights of every minority child not to be segregated and to receive equal educational opportunities were protected, and that voluntary actions would prevent the desegregation litigation which was necessary in Boston because of the narrow scope of state racial balance efforts. We are particularly proud that it has not been necessary to initiate a single enforcement action.

Reporting Requirement

Each year school systems must

> "submit to the commissioner statistics sufficient to enable a determination to be made of the percent of white and non-white pupils attending all public schools . . . whenever the board of education finds that racial imbalance exists in a public school, it shall in writing notify the school committee . . . having jurisdiction over such school that such finding has been made" (Chapter 71, Section 37D).

Since the federal government requires racial reports as well, employing different categories from those imposed by this state statute, we have for the past seven years provided six racial categories on the reporting form. Use of these categories makes it possible to satisfy both the state and federal reporting requirements with a single survey of students.

Relation between Massachusetts and Federal Requirements

(1) Requirements under state law

State law defines a school whose enrollment is more than 50% "non-white" as "racially imbalanced," and requires the school system operating such a school to implement various measures which will encourage and allow voluntary transfers of students which will have the effect of eliminating this condition.

Various incentives are provided to encourage and assist school districts in doing so, including transportation reimbursements, increase construction reimbursements, funding for magnet schools, and an "Equal Education Improvement Fund" to improve the quality of education in desegregated schools. These incentives, and the urban/suburban Metco Program, are offered under Chapter 636 of 1974.

A difficulty arises in the definition of "non-white." When the original Racial Imbalance Act was prepared, in 1965, there were few Hispanic students in the Commonwealth, and the drafters did not define how "non-white" should be applied. Early controversies arose over whether Cape Verdean and Chinese students should be counted as "non-white" along with Black students (decisions were reached that they should be), and there has been a continuing uncertainty about how to count Hispanic students. As is well known, there is a wide range of racial characteristics among Hispanic peoples, even though all are considered "minority" under Federal law.

On the advice of then-Attorney General Brooke, the responsibility has been placed upon local school officials to use their best judgment as to whether particular students should be considered "white" or "non-white" in making the racial census.

(2) Requirement under federal law

The term "non-white" is not used by the Office for Civil Rights or by the desegregation cases which have been resolved in the federal court system.

A comprehensive category of "minority" is used, which includes Black, Hispanic, Native American (that is, Indian), and Asian-American Students.

Federal law does not create an obligation to reduce racial imbalance, as does state law. Instead, it forbids official action which results in the segregation or isolation of minority students. The story of desegregation cases since Brown in 1954 is largely one of defining the kinds of actions which would constitute such segregation, and the kinds of remedial measures which are necessary once a finding of illegal segregation has been made.

(3) Reconciling the two in Massachusetts

A school system with schools more than 50% "non-white" must implement measures to encourage voluntary transfers which will improve racial balance.

If the system is planning schools, or redistricting, or changing grade structures, it must take racial balance into account in so doing.

A school system with a disproportionate number of "minority" students in certain schools may take a variety of measures—including voluntary transfers, redistricting, or changing grade structures—to reduce this isolation.

If the system is planning schools, or redistricting, or changing grade structures, it must assure that these measures do not result in further segregation, whether intended or unintended but predictable.

The Board of Education must take care not to approve measures (school construction, for example) which would result in further segregation.

The Board may provide financial support and encouragement to school systems to reduce racial isolation on a voluntary basis, even when racial imbalance as such does not exist but is potential.

In practice, what this means is that we give particular attention to assuring that school systems do not take actions which would constitute official action resulting in segregation of minority students, and that they correct the effects of any past actions which they may have taken which had the result. We provide advice and assistance to protect the school system—and the Board—from desegregation litigation.

Over the past seven years every school system which we have approached with such concerns has taken appropriate steps without the need for state enforcement actions, though sometimes only after extended discussions and negotiations.

STATEWIDE TRENDS

We compared statewide enrollment in public schools in 1974, 1978 and 1982 to determine to what extent declining enrollments are affecting all racial groups, and whether the rapid Black enrollment increases of the 1960s are continuing. In addition, we identified fourteen communities with which EEO has worked on desegregation over this period, and enrollment trends in these communities were compared with statewide trends between 1978 and 1982.

Enrollments for October 1983 were available for individual communities, but not for the entire state.

The fourteen communities are: Boston, Brockton, Cambridge, Chelsea, Framingham, Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell, Lynn, Medford, Methuen, New Bedford, Springfield, and Worcester. In the case of Chelsea and Framingham our involvement has been limited to discussion of the impact of school closings, but these systems are included because of their significant Hispanic enrollments.

The racial categories used are:

White
Black (corresponding essentially to "non-white" under Massachusetts law)
Hispanic
Asian (under this category we include the small number of "Native American" (Indian) students; they number about 1,000 statewide and numbers are not increasing significantly)

Statewide Enrollment	1974	1978	1982	Change
White	1,101,033	983,291	802,728	-298,305
Black	59,202	61,422	57,405	- 1,797
Hispanic	27,750	31,508	37,624	+ 9,874
Asian/Native American	6,703	9,281	14,426	+ 7,723

White Enrollment Trends

White enrollment statewide declined by 10.7% from 1974 to 1978, and by 18.4% from 1978 to 1982; the total 1974-1982 decline was nearly 300,000 students.

The fourteen communities experienced a 23.3% decline in white enrollment from 1978 to 1982:

	# Change	% Change
Boston	- 10,073	(- 35%)
Holyoke	- 1,847	- 31%
Medford	- 2,853	- 29%
Chelsea	- 776	- 28%
Framingham	- 3,040	- 27%
Springfield	- 3,583	- 24%
Worcester	- 5,244	- 24%
Cambridge	- 1,405	- 22%
statewide	-180,563	- 18.4%
Lawrence	- 1,053	- 18%
Lynn	- 2,207	- 17%
Brockton	- 3,082	- 17%
Methuen	- 1,026	- 16%
Lowell	- 1,907	- 16%
New Bedford	- 942	- 7%

In the recent report to Judge Garrity, we discuss the Boston white enrollment decline at length, and show that its impact has been uneven upon different neighborhoods. Certain schools have been successful in maintaining or even increasing their white enrollment, generally through vigorous program development and recruitment efforts. The figures show that Boston has been unusually hard-hit by white enrollment decline, although this must be seen in the context of a pattern which is statewide and indeed nationwide.

The other special factor affecting Boston is the termination of the pre-kindergarten program in September 1982. This program had enrolled some three thousand students each year, at least half of them white. Adjusting for this program loss, it appears that actual K-12 white enrollment dropped by about 29.5% from 1978 to 1982.

It should be noted that several desegregating school systems have lower rates of white enrollment decline than the state as a whole. The strong enrollment in New Bedford is especially notable.

The largest white enrollment decline in individual schools was in Medford High (- 861), Brockton High (- 616), Framingham South High (- 544), Madison Park High in Boston (- 472), Methuen High (- 471), Holyoke High (- 445), Framingham North High (- 405), and Technical High in Springfield (- 403).

Of particular interest are those schools which have seen a substantial increase in white enrollment between 1978 and 1982. The Kelly in

Holyoke, located in a heavily Hispanic neighborhood, increased its white enrollment from 122 to 262 as a result of that community's desegregation plan. White enrollment at Clark Street in Worcester, another desegregating school in a largely minority neighborhood, went from 72 white students to 189 (and 236 in 1983). Leonard and Bruce schools in Lawrence, Chandler Street School in Worcester, Washington Community School in Lynn have also increased their white enrollments by substantial amounts as a result of desegregation plans.

Black Enrollment Trends

Black enrollment, which increased sharply in the 1960s and early 1970s, continued to increase slightly in 1974-1978, and then declined in 1978-1982. Black students were and remain highly concentrated in a few communities: 52% of Black students in Massachusetts attended the Boston Schools in 1978, and 50.5% in 1982. If Metco students living in Boston but attending suburban schools and Black students attending non-public schools in Boston were included, the proportion of Black students resident in Boston would rise to 60% of the state total. Another 12% live in Springfield, and 7% live in Cambridge and New Bedford combined.

Black Enrollment	1978	1982	Change	% Change
Medford	325	233	- 92	- 28.3%
New Bedford	2,021	1,787	- 234	- 11.6%
Springfield	7,580	6,718	- 862	- 11.4%
Boston	31,787	28,994	-2,793	- 8.8%
statewide	61,422	57,405	-3,838	- 7.9%
Lynn	946	895	- 51	- 5.4%
Worcester	1,182	1,264	+ 82	+ 6.9%
Brockton	1,439	1,610	+ 171	+ 11.9%

It is interesting to note that four of the five communities which implemented racial balance plans prior to 1975 - the first four on this list - have recently experienced a decline in Black enrollment. These are the "older" Black communities in Massachusetts, and they are experiencing the impact of declining birthrate among Black parents parallel to the declining white birthrate.

Brockton is the only community in Massachusetts whose Black enrollment is growing more rapidly than its Hispanic and Asian enrollments. The discussion of Brockton in this report reviews the measures which are under way to assure that this increase does not result in minority isolation.

There are thirty-one public schools in the desegregating communities whose Black enrollment declined by fifty or more students; twenty of these are in Boston and six in Springfield and reflect the general Black enrollment decline in those communities.

Three others are in Cambridge - in these cases the decline is the direct result of desegregation measures, which redistricted or voluntarily attracted Black students out of the Tobin, King and Roberts Schools. The decline in these schools was balanced by a significant increase in Black enrollment in the Peabody, Harrington, and Kennedy Schools, which had been predominantly white.

The Washington Community School in Lynn and the Gomes School in New Bedford also had substantial declines in Black enrollment; both schools have figured largely in the desegregation plans for their communities, though this decline is unrelated to desegregation.

Black enrollment at Classical High in Springfield increased by 158 between 1978 and 1982, a positive trend which slowed in 1983 but should continue and gather strength under the high school measures outlined in the Springfield section of this report.

Black enrollment also increased by more than fifty students between 1978 and 1982 at two other schools in predominantly white neighborhoods, under local desegregation plans: at Burncoat Street in Worcester and Indian Orchard in Springfield.

The Arnone Community School in Brockton increased its Black enrollment from 94 to 157 in this period. A planning process is now under way to assure that this increase does not result in minority isolation.

Hispanic Enrollment Trends

Hispanic public school enrollment is increasing statewide, and especially in certain school systems with which EEO is working actively on desegregation.

Lawrence, in particular, saw a 45% Hispanic increase between 1978 and 1982, and a further 6% increase in 1983. This amounts to an increase of more than 1,300 Hispanic students in a system enrolling about 8,500 students altogether!

Springfield was second in numerical increase, with more than a thousand more Hispanic students in 1983 than in 1978; the new desegregation measures discussed in the Springfield section of this report address the isolation resulting from this influx of Hispanic students. Holyoke also has a rapidly-growing Hispanic enrollment.

By contrast, the increase of Hispanic enrollment in Boston, though numerically significant (and especially heavy in parts of Jamaica Plain and Dorchester), is more gradual than in most cities with Hispanic communities.

Hispanic Enrollment	1978	1982	Change	% Change
Chelsea	849	1,264	415	48.9%
Lawrence	2,421	3,511	1,090	45%
Lynn	502	702	200	39.8%
Holyoke	1,742	2,379	637	36.6%
Brockton	620	824	204	32.9%
Lowell	1,191	1,489	298	25%
Worcester	1,916	2,299	383	20%
Framingham	476	571	95	20%
statewide	31,508	37,624	6,116	19.4%
Springfield	4,460	5,245	785	17.6%
New Bedford	843	962	119	14.1%
Cambridge	702	780	78	11.1%
Boston	8,796	9,212	416	4.7%

Hispanic enrollment increased by fifty or more students in sixty public schools in the fourteen systems studied. In a number of instances this change is attributable to desegregation measures under the various plans. For example, the following schools in Holyoke and Worcester increased or decreased their Hispanic enrollments substantially between 1978 and 1982 as a result of desegregation:

Holyoke Elementary Schools	1978	1982
Highland	5	206
Metcalfe	3	121
Kirtland	4	112
McMahon	4	64
Donahue	7	60
Morgan	291	218
Lawrence	431	328

Worcester Elementary Schools	1978	1982
Belmont Street	71	219
St. Nicholas Avenue	122	208
Lincoln Street	6	87
Harlow Street	13	71
Burncoat Street	16	74
Chandler Street	179	91
Clark Street	162	70

Of particular interest is the wide-spread increase in Hispanic enrollment in high schools:

	1978	1982
Lawrence High	396	732
Technical High (Springfield)	110	272
Jamaica Plain High (Boston)	200	347
Chelsea High	164	305
Madison Park High (Boston)	283	403
Holyoke High	233	352
Charlestown High (Boston)	49	165
Lowell High	172	275
Dorchester High (Boston)	35	136

This increase in Hispanic high school enrollment reflects both the changing age-profile of the Hispanic community in Massachusetts and - we trust - efforts to retain a larger percentage of Hispanic students in high schools. At the same time, it creates one of the major civil rights priorities for the Commonwealth, one which has been reflected in the Commissioner's operational plans for the past several years: how to provide effective educational programs for Hispanic secondary students, especially for those who are not in bilingual programs. Vocational opportunities, college preparatory opportunities, counselling, ongoing language support for Hispanic secondary students - these and related issues set a large part of the agenda for equal opportunity efforts in Massachusetts in the 1980s.

Asian Enrollment Trends

Asian (and Native American) public school enrollment increased by 55.4% from 1978 to 1982; in 1982 Asian students represented 1.5% of total statewide enrollment, contrasted with 0.5% in 1978.

Brookline is the school system with the highest proportion of Asian students (10.7% in 1982), and is second only to Boston in number (601 in 1982, up from 552 in 1978).

Lowell now ranks fifth in the number of Asian students, a rapid increase from ranking out of the top ten in 1978. The growing Asian enrollment in Lowell has been a special focus of EEO efforts during 1983, and will continue to be a concern until we are sure that their educational needs are being met. The development of further elements in Lowell's desegregation plan will provide our first opportunity to incorporate meeting these needs as those of

Hispanic students have been addressed in the recent desegregation planning process in Holyoke, Springfield, Worcester, and other communities.

Asian Enrollment	1978	1982	Change	% Change
Lowell	52	359	307	590%
Lawrence	39	162	162	315%
Quincy	103	248	145	141%
Chelsea	52	121	69	133%
Worcester	193	399	206	107%
Springfield	79	146	67	85%
Cambridge	195	335	140	72%
Newton	343	480	137	55%
statewide	9,281	14,426	5,145	55%
Framingham	134	193	59	44%
Boston	2,867	4,100	1,233	43%
Lexington	195	247	52	27%
Brookline	552	601	49	9%

Asian students are less heavily concentrated than Hispanic or Black students in the desegregating school systems; less than half of them (44.3%) are in the fourteen communities discussed in this report, compared with 78.3% of the Black and of the Hispanic students. It will be noted that several communities are included in the chart above which are not discussed elsewhere. Other Massachusetts communities with more than 100 Asian students in 1982 included Andover (116), Arlington (116), Attleboro (107), Ayer (121), Burlington (108), Chelmsford (107), Revere (146), Somerville (115) and Waltham (127).

It is precisely the dispersion of Asian students as a result of refugee resettlement (the Chinese community ten years ago was highly concentrated in Boston and Brookline) which creates new equal opportunity issues. Needs of these especially vulnerable students will continue to be a priority for EEO.

SUMMARY

Minority students represent a growing proportion of total Massachusetts public school enrollment, rising from 7.8% in 1974 to 12.1% in 1982.

% of Total Enrollment	1974	1978	1982
Native American	0.1%	0.1%	0.1%
Asian	0.5%	0.8%	1.5%
Black	5.0%	5.7%	6.3%
Hispanic	2.2%	2.9%	4.2%

Black students and Hispanic students, in particular, are heavily concentrated in certain cities. Boston and Springfield enroll more than 62% of the Black students attending public schools in Massachusetts (and see the discussion, above, of the further impact of Metco and non-public schools), and Boston, Springfield, Lawrence, Holyoke and Worcester enroll 60% of the Hispanic public school students. More than 30% of the Asian public school students attend Boston schools but, as noted above, Asian students are more widely dispersed in general.

Despite the growing numbers and continuing concentration of minority students, they are significantly less isolated than they were prior to the desegregation effort of recent years. In 1970 "non-white" students were heavily represented in 42 schools which were over 80% "non-white" and enrolled 30% of all "non-white" students in the Commonwealth; by 1980 (prior to the most recent desegregation efforts) there were only eight schools over 80% "non-white," enrolling 3.2% of all such students.

The discussion of individual communities provides specific instances of the impact of desegregation measures.

Analysis of statewide trends does point to a number of emerging equal opportunity issues:

- the growth in Hispanic high school enrollment, creating an urgent need to address the complex educational needs of this population
- the growth of Asian enrollment and its dispersion around the state creates the need for new strategies to monitor for denial of educational benefits
- the growth of Hispanic enrollment in Lawrence demands that the desegregation plan currently under development for that community be especially effective and flexible
- the equally rapid growth of Hispanic enrollment in Chelsea reminds us, as we have noted each year, of the need to find equal education strategies which can be effective in that small and heavily impacted city
- the growth of Asian enrollment in Lowell demands that the new desegregation plan for that community address their educational needs and their right not to be racially isolated

- the growth of Black enrollment in Brockton gives urgency to the planning process which the Board has recently funded for that community

- the shifting population in Boston and Springfield, with Black enrollment declining and Hispanic enrollment increasing, creates the need and opportunity for modifications of the desegregation plans now in effect in those communities

FUNDING

When the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Law was adopted, the legislators were responding to concerns expressed by the growing Black community in Boston, Springfield, and to some extent New Bedford and Cambridge. Isolation of Black students was only one of the issues raised at the time, but reducing that isolation seemed to offer a key to upgrading educational opportunities and to creating a multi-racial society based upon mutual respect.

The expectation was both accurate and inaccurate. Action by the Board of Education to require compliance did bring the concerns of Black parents forceably to the attention of school committees in the affected districts, and construction programs were undertaken which have placed new, well-equipped schools in old neighborhoods. A few "magnet schools" were established, and the urban/suburban Metco program involved more than forty school systems and two hundred suburban schools. Racial separation continued to increase, however, and few specifically educational efforts were undertaken to offer high-quality learning experiences in a context of conscious racial integration.

The turning-point was 1974, when state and federal courts ordered implementation of "short-term" (not relying upon future construction) plans which the Board of Education had adopted for Boston and Springfield. In September, thousands of students moved to new, desegregated schools. The results were very mixed, depending in part upon the commitment with which school leadership handled implementation, and also upon whether political leaders supported the process. In general, results were positive in Springfield and in parts of Boston, and negative in other parts of Boston.

A month before this implementation the General Court amended the Racial Imbalance Law to provide substantial financial assistance to upgrade educational programs in schools carrying out racial balance plans. Boston and Springfield, naturally, received much

the greatest share of these funds, with New Bedford and Cambridge receiving small amounts. As a result, positive things began to happen in schools and classrooms which were newly desegregated. Springfield gives much of the credit for its encouraging basic skills results to the extra support provided by the amended law ("Chapter 636"), and many of the bright spots in the more discouraging picture in Boston may also be attributed to this special funding. An especially significant element was the Board's decision that programs must be designed at the school level, to encourage diversity and initiative.

ANOTHER CONCERN EMERGES

Hispanic students were not seen as an issue when the original Racial Imbalance Law was adopted, in 1965, but their numbers grew to such an extent that, in 1974, we sought to have the term "non-white" changed to "minority" in the amended law. Under emerging constitutional standards Hispanics were "minority" and entitled to the same Fourteenth Amendment protection as Blacks, but Massachusetts law did not offer mandates or resources to prevent their educational isolation. This problem first became truly troublesome as the Six District Plan was adopted for Springfield; it became even more difficult in working with school systems seeking to reduce "minority isolation" of Hispanic students but not eligible for funding support under the Racial Imbalance Law.

"Minority" enrollment grew from 7.8% to 12.1% of total enrollment between 1974 and 1982, with Black numbers remaining about constant and Asian and Hispanic enrollment growing sharply. It is especially significant, however, that Black enrollment is highly concentrated, with 62% of the Black public school students in Massachusetts attending Boston or Springfield schools, compared with only 38% of the Hispanic students. School systems such as Worcester, Holyoke, and Lawrence, which had never faced a "racial balance" problem because of low Black enrollments, were faced with taking steps to reduce the isolation of Hispanic students, without the support provided under the Racial Imbalance Law.

To recapitulate: "minority" is a broader category than "non-white," since most school systems choose to report Hispanic students as "white." The Racial Imbalance Law mandates voluntary transfers and provides very substantial financial assistance when a school has more than 50% "non-whte" enrollment. Until recently, no assistance was available under state law for schools with heavy "minority" enrollment - which, in practical terms, has meant schools in systems with many Hispanic but few Black students.

AMENDING THE LAW

For several years superintendents of school systems which were reducing "minority" isolation complained to us that they were at a disadvantage compared with their colleagues who were reducing the isolation of "non-white" students. Boston and Springfield were receiving millions of dollars a year, while we were able to make relatively small planning and magnet school development grants to Holyoke, Lawrence, Lowell and Worcester only by a very flexible interpretation of Chapter 636. Funds "to improve the quality of education" in desegregating schools are allocated by a formula and thus even that flexibility was denied us.

The following chart shows the status of the funding provisions of Chapter 636 as of our report to the Board in January 1983.

Assistance available under Massachusetts Law in 1983

	to deal with "non-white" imbalance	to deal with "minority" imbalance
(a) Transportation entitlement at 100%:	yes	no
(b) Extra construction/renovation aid:	yes (90%)**	yes (75%)*
(c) Funds "to improve the quality of instruction" (Section 1, Ch.636):	yes	no
(d) Funds to develop and operate magnet schools and Programs (Section 8):	yes	yes*
(e) Funds to support urban students in suburban schools:	yes	no

In our report last year we identified the primary issues as the need of desegregating school systems with many Hispanic and fewer Black students for transportation assistance and for funds to improve the quality of instruction in schools which have been desegregated.

The Board supported this extension of the benefits of Chapter 636, and the response of the Legislature was very positive. Eligibility for Section 1 funds was extended to school systems reducing isolation of "minority students, and funding was increased from $6 million

*Amendment December 1981; funding level increased from $3 million to $3.5 million.
**Amendment December 1982.

(the level at which it had remained since 1974) to over $7.3 million. As a result, additional systems have received substantial additional support this year, without harm to those already heavily funded by Chapter 636:

Chapter 636 Sections 1 and 8	1982-83	1983-84
Boston	$5,352,400	$5,383,940
Brockton	0	153,000
Cambridge	386,157	553,518
Holyoke	350,000	538,339*
Lawrence	189,355	202,233*
Lowell	176,456	251,326*
Lynn	88,000	89,499*
Medford	75,000	69,690*
New Bedford	171,200	179,190*
Springfield	1,708,158	1,744,500
Worcester	436,264	757,344

The Legislature also amended the school construction provisions of Chapter 636 to provide up to 90% reimbursement for approved construction or renovation costs related to reducing minority isolation, and of interest costs.

The effect of this amendment is to make it more possible for Lawrence to build two new K-8 schools projected in that community's desegregation plan, and for Worcester to build a replacement for the Canterbury Street School, an element in the unfolding desegregation process in Worcester. "More possible," for neither community has yet resolved the financial issues which currently impede these projects.

On the basis of these 1983 legislative actions, our chart can be revised as follows:

Assistance available under Massacusetts Law - 1984

	to deal with "non-white" imbalance	to deal with "minority" imbalance
(a) Transportation entitlement at 100% (subject to appropriation)	yes	no
(b) Extra construction/renovation aid	90%	90%
(c) Funds "to mprove the quality of instruction" (Ch. 636, Sec. 1)	yes	yes

*a balance of funds is being held for each of these communities, to be granted if additional measures to reduce isolation are adopted over the next several months; total of the balance is $417,008.

	to deal with "non-white" imbalance	to deal with "minority" imbalance
(d) Funds to develop and operate magnet schools (Ch. 636, Sec. 8)	yes	yes
(e) Funds to support urban minority students in suburban schools	yes	no

The increased coverage and increased funding represent really significant progress in state support for desegregation in Massachusetts.

Action to broaden eligibility for the 100% transportation reimbursements would provide very significant budget relief to a number of school systems. Worcester, for example, must use $250,000 of its Chapter 636 grant to provide transportation for magnet school students; these funds could be much better used for further program development and educational support. Such broadened eligibility would have a real impact, however, only if combined with full funding of the program.

Apart from transportation reimbursements, the principal area of need continues to be magnet school funding. As noted throughout this report, the number of magnet schools continues to increase and the demand for them among parents increases even more rapidly. Each magnet school is a demonstrably successful, integrated, urban school, educating a high proportion of minority and low-income children. Funding for magnet schools is high-impact funding, targeted to the areas of greatest need and with a build-in evaluation for effectiveness: if parents are not satisfied with a magent school, if they don't believe it provides a better-than-average educational opportunity, the school will soon go out of business, at least as a fundable magnet!

During 1983 EEO was asked to advise several other states - Illinois, Pennsylvania, Missouri, New York - on strategies for strengthening education of urban and minority students in the context of equal opportunity and desegregation. The success of the linkage which has been made, in Massachusetts, between excellence and equity in urban education has depended upon the availability of both "carrot" and "stick." The "stick" is the continuing willingness of the Commissioner and Board to fight for equity; this is so generally known that actual enforcement action is rarely necessary. The "carrot" is the continuing availability of funds, under Chapter 636, to help urban school systems to do what is right in an educationally effective manner.

BOSTON

The Monitoring Reports submitted to Judge W. Arthur Garrity by the Board of Education in June 1983 and January 1984 contain, between them, more than four hundred pages devoted directly to desegregation, together with hundreds of pages on the related educational and administrative supports to desegregation which have been ordered by the Court. It would be pointless to review here what has been covered in such detail in other documents prepared for the Board and available to the public.

On the other hand, our annual statewide reports on school desegregation in Massachusetts have largely ignored Boston in the recent years of jurisdiction by the Federal District Court. The Board of Education, which played such a leading role in pressing for equal opportunity and race desegregation in Boston from 1965 to 1974, continued an active participant thereafter in Judge Garrity's courtroom, but did not monitor the desegregation of Boston schools as it did that of schools in Springfield and other communities. EEO staff were in regular contact with Boston schools, it is true, but in connection with the administration of between five and six million dollars a year in state desegregation aid, and without a mandate to determine whether the requirements and intentions of the Court were being met.

The restoration of a normal relationship between the Board's office charged with desegregation and equal opportunity and the school system enrolling half of the minority students in Massachusetts, sometime after January 1985, will involve essentially the areas of concern which are now monitored in other systems covered in this Annual Report. It is appropriate to begin to sketch out how Boston stands in these areas:

- what progress has been made in actually desegregating the Boston schools since 1970?
- what is the nature of Boston's desegregation plan, with respect to the mixture of mandatory and voluntary elements, compared with other plans in Massachusetts?
- what have been the benefits to minority students?
- what remaining issues stand in the way of full compliance with state and federal equal opportunity/ desegregation requirements?

PROGRESS SINCE 1970

The present Director of EEO was appointed midway in the 1970-71 school year. That year Boston operated 191 schools, of which 32 were more than 90% "non-white" (corresponding, essentially, to Black) and 82 were more than 90% white. Fourteen schools enrolled no minority students at all. Only 13 of the 191 schools, or 7%, were in the range between 50% and 70% white defined as "racial balance" under Massachusetts law (M.G.L. c.71 s. 37D). In other words, the Boston Public Schools were highly segregated in 1970-71.

Overall enrollment in 1970 was 32.5% "non-white," up from 16.4% in 1960. If racial proportions had continued to change at the 1960-1970 rate, the 1983 enrollment would be 53% "non-white." Black enrollment is in fact 48% of the total in 1983-84, and has declined in recent years as pointed out elsewhere in this report. The major enrollment increase has been in "other minority" students, who were in small numbers and not separately reported in 1970. Hispanic enrollment is 16% of the total in 1983-84, and Asian enrollment 7%. White enrollment has dropped to 28% of the total.

Overall enrollment reached its highest point since 1944 in 1970, according to historical figures compiled recently by Mr. Coakley. By 1980 enrollment dropped by 33,518 students, a decline comparable to that caused by the Depression from 1934 to 1944 (37,701). Elementary and middle school enrollments have recently turned slightly up, and the five-year projection is for enrollment increases in Boston in grades 2-5, and stronger enrollment levels than the statewide average in eleven of thirteen grades.

A number of schools which have not met desegregation goals set by the Court since the 1975 Plan was implemented were already heavily minority in 1970, and have in fact grown more racially mixed as a direct result of desegregation. For example, some intermediate schools:

Percent White	1970	1983
Timilty (Roxbury)	0.2%	13.8%
Holmes (Dorchester)	1.2%	18.6%
Lewenberg (Mattapan)	3.4%	21.6%
Lewis (Roxbury)	4.8%	20.8%
Dearborn (Roxbury	7.0%	25.5%

On the other hand, racial change in certain neighborhoods has had a major impact on a number of schools; though most of them were "desegregated" by the assignment of minority students under the 1974 and 1975 plans, the current assignment task is to assign and retain enough white students to maintain desegregation.

Percent White	1970	1983
Thompson (Dorchester)	44.4%	12.8%
Jamaica Plain High	50.1%	16.7%
John Kennedy (Jamaica Plain)	54%	11.2%
Dorchester High	59.7%	15.3%
Mary Curley (Jamaica Plain)	65.1%	14.6%
Ellis Mendell (Jamaica Plain)	76%	18.9%
Emily Fifield (Dorchester)	80.2%	14.9%
Lucy Stone (Dorchester)	80.9%	14%
Charles Taylor (Dorchester)	82%	15.1%
Mather (Dorchester)	93.8%	19.5%
Grover Cleveland (Dorchester)	94.9%	11.7%
Chittick (Hyde Park)	99.9%	10.5%

Other schools, located in neighborhoods which have remained identified with the same racial group as in 1970, have become significantly desegregated since 1970 as a result of the Court-ordered Plan. Of 32 schools which were less than 10% white in 1970, 17 have been closed and 15 are more racially-mixed. Note, for example, the desegregation progress of these schools, each of which has aggressively sought white students:

Percent White	1970	1983
Nathan Hale (Roxbury)	4.7%	25.6%
Higginson (Roxbury)	5%	26.3%
Winthrop (Roxbury)	9.9%	32.9%

Of the 14 schools in Boston which were 100% white in 1970, 12 have been closed and two are desegregated. Of the 82 schools over 90% white (including the 14 just mentioned), 37 have been closed, 34 desegregated, and 11 remain over 60% white. The desegregated schools include:

Percent White	1970	1983
Warren Prescott (Charlestown)	100%	32%
South Boston High School	99.8%	27.6%
Hemenway (Hyde Park)	99.6%	43.4%
Clap (South Boston)	99.8%	49.7%
Mozart (Roslindale)	99.7%	26.7%
Longfellow (Roslindale)	99.6%	30.6%
Philbrick (Roslindale)	99.5%	48.6%
Grew (Hyde Park)	99.6%	36.9%
Conley (Roslindale)	99.2%	40.2%
Guild (East Boston)	99.6%	27.5%
Beethoven (West Roxbury)	99.4%	34.6%

In summary, of 191 schools operated by the Boston School Committee in 1970, 87 have closed (not counting old facilities, like the Agassiz, Quincy, and English High, which were replaced with new facilities with the same school identity). Twelve remain over 60% white, including Boston Latin School and nine schools in East Boston. Ninety-two became or remained racially mixed, in most cases coming to reflect city-wide racial proportions more closely. Eighteen new schools have opened; they range from 8% to 46% white.

Another way to state the degree of desegregation achieved is to compare the number of schools which were within twenty percentage points of the citywide white enrollment (68%) in 1970 with the number within that range of the 1983 white enrollment (28%). Forty-three of 191 schools, or 23%, were between 48% and 88% white in 1970-71, and 107 of 123 schools, or 87%, are between 8% and 48% white in 1983-84.

BOSTON'S PRESENT DESEGREGATION PLAN

The present Plan was ordered in May 1975 and implemented that September; it replaced a racial balance plan ordered by the Board in 1973 and implemented in September 1984. The 1975 Plan is a mixture of involuntary and voluntary elements. Compared with Holyoke, New Bedford or Springfield, Boston relies more upon parent and student choices to achieve desegregation; compared with Lowell or Worcester, Boston also relies heavily upon involuntary assignments to accomplish what voluntary elements alone would not. There is no desegregation plan in Massachusetts which does not include both voluntary and involuntary elements, but only in Cambridge are they as thoroughly mixed as in Boston.

Comparisons among school systems always stumble upon the circumstances special to each. Slightly over 50% of Boston's high school students attend "magnet" high schools, and these are the only magnet high schools operating in Massachusetts. Cambridge, Lawrence, Lowell, New Bedford, after all, operate only one high school each, so that desegregation does not arise as an issue. Worcester's high schools have such a small minority proportion that there can be no question of desegregating them. In Springfield, on the other hand, all four high schools have traditionally enrolled students citywide, but not under an explicit desegregation plan until last year. Too much should not be made, therefore, of the nearly nine thousand students attending "magnet" high schools in Boston; more than a third of them attend the examination schools which long antedate desegregation.

A better way to assess the extent to which high school desegregation in Boston is voluntary is to study, as we did last Spring, the preferences expressed by Boston eighth graders for a high school. The analysis reached the conclusion that "only about one student in six who completes a middle school this Spring will fail to receive his or her first preference for high school, if an application was returned. . . the proportion 'disappointed' falls to 15% of Black students, 13% of white students, and 12% of other minority students."

According to a June 1983 School Department analysis, 36,752 students received their first choice assignments for grades K-12, with another 2,832 receiving second or third choices. Eighty-nine percent of the non-substantially separate students who indicated choices were given one of them. Another 4,921 students did not receive one of their three choices (many only indicated one choice); these are the students who may be said to have received involuntary assignments. This represents 8.7% of the enrollment of the Boston Public Schools.

It is important to note that another 8,766 students did not return an application. Sixty-seven percent of these were reassigned to their present schools, 30% were assigned to their district schools, and less than 3% were assigned to citywide schools, mostly to English and Madison Park High Schools.

In summary, Boston's desegregation plan operates within a framework of parent/student choice, with such choices constrained by the need to meet desegregation objectives. A variety of procedural requirements, developed to assure impartiality, to prevent anticipated abuses, and to meet other objectives either of the Court or of the school system, have created a popular impression that the Plan is rigid and irrational, and could be replaced by a simpler method of assigning and transferring students, with less frustration for parents and students. Monitoring of the assignment system over the past year confirms its compexity and impartiality, and suggests that changes should be made only with great care and a good understanding of their possible unanticipated consequences. It seems likely that the most common frustrations are caused by relatively few of the assignment and transfer requirements. A system which has achieved extensive desegregation with a high proportion of students receiving their schools of choice should not be abandoned lightly.

BENEFITS TO MINORITY STUDENTS

The purpose of a desegregation plan is not primarily to improve the quality of education, but to assure that all educational benefits are provided on an equitable basis to students of all racial groups, and that all schools and programs reflect the overal enrollment to such an extent that no schools or programs are "racially identifiable."

In Massachusetts we have encouraged desegregating school systems to see the planning and implementation of desegregation as an educational opportunity, for the community, for staff, and for students. The discussion of Holyoke in the present report illustrates how this way take place.

The measures ordered by Judge Garrity for Boston include a number of educational elements considered necessary to achieve educational equity and successful desegregation. For example, the School Committee was ordered to create or modify many of its vocational programs to meet the educational needs of minority students, who had previously received unequal opportunities for vocational training and counselling. The Committee was also ordered to ccoperate with colleges and universities which volunteered to support program development and other aspects of desegregation implementation. Bilingual and special education programs were to be brought up to state standards and to operate effectively for all students needing them. Certain schools were designated as magnet schools, and the Court defined what the educational themes of these schools would be.

In support of such objectives the Board has granted more than $50 million in state Chapter 636 desegregation funds to Boston since 1974, in addition to the extra reimbursement for transportation and construction/renovation of facilities authorized under Chapter 636.

The present monitoring by the Board of Education is intended to determine, among other things, to what extent the educational improvements required by the Court have been made. Although the monitoring process is ongoing, it seems possible to say that very significant progress has been made in bilingual and special education, that the university partnerships have stood the test of time, that most magnet schools are successful in attracting a fully desegregated enrollment on a voluntary basis, and that many vocational programs—including an Occupational Resource Center—have been established or modified. Twenty-six new school facilities, each approved by the Board of Education as part of a "racial balance plan," have opened in Boston since 1967, and 33% of

Boston's students attend these new schools (45% of the high school students). While--as we will see below--real problems remain and must be faced, it is clear that there has been a major effort to create at least the context within which good education can occur.

One way to measure the progress made is to recall how deeply dissatisfied Black parents were with the Boston Public Schools prior to desegregation. In 1969 the Model Neighborhood Board carried out a survey of parents in parts of Roxbury, Jamaica Plain, and Dorchester. It is instructive to compare responses of white and Black parents to questions about the public schools. For example, 43% of the white parents but only 28% of the Black parents felt that their children received adequate guidance. It was this sense that the schools were not only poor but especially poor for minority children which had led to the demands for "racial balance" and educational equity in the early 1960s, and to the efforts of thousands of Black parents, in the late 1960s, to send their children to predominantly white schools perceived as better, through METCO (to suburban communities) and Operation Exodus (to West Roxbury and other Boston neighborhoods). The same volunteer efforts by Black parents and their white (often suburban) allies created three "community schools" as well as the Board's own "Massachusetts Experimental School," seen explicitly as an alternative to the Boston Public Schools.

It would be idle to pretend that Black and other minority parents are generally satisfied with all aspects of the Boston Public Schools today, but it seems increasingly that their complaints are the same as those of white parents. Urban education, indeed public education in general, comes under constant criticism, but the kinds of blatant inequities which infuriated Black parents during the days of the school boycotts of 1963 and 1964 seldom become rallying-points today. When equity issues are raised with our office, they generally have to do with Hispanic students, Cambodian students, or other groups for whom language and other support is needed to assure full access to educational opportunities.

To put the point another way, we are more likely to learn of instances of racial discrimination or harassment in suburban communities than in Boston. The central civil rights issues in Boston, in 1984, have to do with creating and sustaining effective educational programs, expecially but not exclusively for students with limited English proficiency, rather than with access to such programs. Only in relation to the examination schools do the classic civil rights questions tend to arise.

REMAINING ISSUES

Of the issues identified in the Board's second report to Judge Garrity, there are four which are directly related to desegregation:

- Most citywide vocational programs fail to meet the enrollment requirements, by race/ethnicity and by sex. Insufficient language support limits the benefits of these programs for many students. Full desegregation of vocational programs would contribute substantially to the life-chances of thousands of students.

- Program development and recruitment efforts are needed for a number of schools which have failed to reach the desegregation standard, including several of the schools designated for such efforts by Judge Garrity. Boston parents and students have demonstrated that they will take advantage of the choices already offered, and are well able to evaluate the various opportunities available. Efforts to improve the quality and distinctiveness of the choices available can only improve education as well as desegregation.

- Better preparation of and support for minority students is needed for Boston Latin School and Latin Academy.

- A comprehensive secondary school plan, the preparation of which was ordered by Judge Garrity several years ago, would make it possible to assure that the progress already achieved will continue and that the hard choices about high school programs and facilities are faced in the context of equal opportunity considerations.

BROCKTON

Brockton is one of the few cities in Massachusetts with a growing Black enrollment:

	1978	1983	Change
Brockton	1,439	1,697	258
Worcester	1,182	1,366	184
Cambridge	2,019	2,180	161
New Bedford	2,012	1,769	-243
Springfield	7,580	6,635	-945
Boston	31,787	28,199	-3,588

Hispanic and Asian enrollment have also been increasing in Brockton, as elsewhere in the state, though moderately.

In the last two annual reports we have called attention to the growing concentration of minority students in certain Brockton schools, as a situation which would eventually call for remedial measures. A year ago we noted that,

> Brockton now has one school which is over 50% minority and two others which have substantially higher minority percentages than the system as a whole. While this condition does not create an obligation to reduce minority isolation, the point has been reached when school system practices will need to be reviewed, and consideration given to strategies to reduce isolation.

Discussion of such strategies began in August. At that time we learned that the Russell School - 32% minority in October 1982 - had been closed, and that the Paine School - 51.7% minority in October 1982 - was slated for closing next year, as part of a general response to declining enrollments. In both instances the reassignment of students would result in a reduction in isolation, and the selection of schools to be closed appeared to be equitable.

On the other hand, a decision made last Spring, as a result of the impact of Proposition 2½, to terminate an academic enrichment program which had brought a significant number of white students to the Arnone each year, would move the latter school significantly closer to minority isolation.

A preliminary plan emerged from this discussion. The first element was to use Chapter 636 funds to continue the academic enrichment program at the Arnone, with the provision that the School Committee make a commitment to specific measures which would increase the minority enrollment of the program. These measures have already begun to make an impact; four minority students have joined the program since October, and 36 others are now being screened.

The second element of this plan was to employ a coordinator for magnet and multi-cultural efforts in Brockton, with the assignment of assessing the emerging needs of the minority community and working with EEO to develop strategies to meet these needs.

This effort would include extensive community involvement, and would seek to respond to the concerns raised by members of the Black community about the responsiveness of the system to the needs of their children. Our expectation is that Brockton will be able to present a long-term plan for the Board's approval sometime within the next twelve months, a plan which will prevent minority isolation and will also be the basis for educational improvements similar to those which have occurred in other desegregating systems in Massachusetts.

Minority Percentage in Certain Brockton Schools

	1978	1982	1983
Arnone	28%	34%	39%
Raymond	18%	25%	26%
Russell	27%	32%	closed
Paine	30%	51%	45%
systemwide	11%	15%	16%

As EEO continues to work closely with the Superintendent and his staff, we will be scrutinizing the administration of the TAG magnet program for: (1) recruitment and selection procedures, (2) admissions criteria, (3) screening process, and (4) parental input and participation. We will also be focusing on the development of a long-range citywide plan aimed at preventing minority isolation, enhancing multi-cultural understanding - especially at the high school, with 764 minority students - and improving educational opportunity for minority students. It is of course too early to predict whether the approach selected by Brockton will rely upon increased educational diversity, as in Lowell, Worcester, and other cities, or on the careful use of administrative measures, as in New Bedford and Holyoke, or upon some combination of the two. In either case, we will encourage Brockton to draw upon successful experience elsewhere in Massachusetts.

CAMBRIDGE

The first racial balance plan for Cambridge was adopted in 1965, under pressure from the Board of Education; it included construction of three new schools with increased capacities and enlarged attendance areas, and a policy prohibiting any student transfer which would have a negative effect on racial balance.

New schools were built, but without appropriate redistricting, and the Board made repeated findings of racial imbalance over the years. Because of the much more critical desegregation problems in Boston and Springfield, however, Cambridge did not come under really focused investigation and technical assistance until 1978.

An initial planning grant under Chapter 636 generated an analysis of assignment data which showed that nearly 1,100 students had been allowed to transfer in violation of the system's own "neighborhood school" policy and transfer policy with the effect of actually increasing minority isolation. Our subsequent review found a clear relation between practices of the school system and the existence of racially segregated schools. We shared this information with the Superintendent, members of the School Committee, and the attorney advising them on these matters, and obtained agreement on a process of developing a remedial plan.

Cambridge was the first school system with which we began a remedial process prior to any formal finding of liability through a negotiation strategy which has subsequently proved effective with other systems. It was also the first system with which we moved from the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Law to the United States Constitution as the primary standard for remedy, thus assuring a plan which would be more broadly adequate than the racial balance plans ordered by the Board for Boston and Springfield in 1973.

In developing a plan, therefore, Cambridge leadership had to be concerned not only with achieving enrollments less than 50% "non-white" but also with assuring that student assignments and educational opportunities were equitable in every respect. This was a challenge which nearly everyone could support.

The first stage, implemented in 1979, corrected the abuses of voluntary transfers and strengthened the magnet schools; the second, in 1980, redistricted a number of schools and closed one;

The third and final stage, in 1981, merged two magnet schools, paired two other schools (with grades K-4 and 5-8), closed another, and introduced a new assignment policy in lieu of attendance districts.

This assignment policy deserves and is beginning to receive national attention for its reconciliation of significant parental choice with solid desegregation. Each student entering the system at the K-8 level must select four schools by order of preference, and is then assigned - 76% to the first choice school in 1982 - on the basis of space availability, feasibility of transportation, and desegregation.

It should be noted that the voluntary enrollment plan builds upon prior measures to correct past segregation and establish desegregated schools, and serves as a permanent protection against resegregation as neighborhoods and school-age population change. It should never again be necessary to reassign students to desegregate in Cambridge, since constant adjustment is possible through assignment of students newly entering the system.

Overall K-8 enrollment in Cambridge is 42.3% minority in 1983-84; only two schools are not clustered very close to this percentage:

Minority Enrollment	1978	1983
Agassiz	19%	40%
Fitzgerald	31%	47.8%
Fletcher	60%	43.5%
Haggerty	18%	43.8%
Harrington	6%	26.2%
King	53%	47.9%
Longfellow	41%	48.9%
Morse	29%	46.9%
Peabody	16%	48.6%
Kennedy	7%	25.2%
Roberts	63%	45.5%
Tobin	51%	45.4%
Graham/Parks	*	47.8%

This desegregation has been accomplished without apparent "white flight." Before desegregation white enrollment was declining at a rate of 280 students per year, and since desegregation white decline averages 263 per year.

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*Merger of Webster (54% in 1978) and Cambridge Alternative (45% in 1978)

Our monitoring last year included the possibility of in-school segregation, which occurs when a school is "desegregated" in its aggregate enrollment but certain classes are predominantly white and others predominantly minority. In 1978, before desegregation implementation began, Cambridge had 129 racially identifiable classrooms at the elementary level, while by 1982 this has been reduced to 37 racially identifiable classrooms.

The success of the Cambridge Plan may be attributed not only to imaginative planning and integrity in implementation, but also to an unusual effort to involve the community and especially parents in every step of the process. The broad-based support which the Plan enjoys has helped to build commitment to the Cambridge Public Schools.

RESULTS OF ASSIGNMENT WITH CHOICE

As of November 1st 1983, 1,023 new students were enrolled in the Cambridge public schools under the terms of the assignment policy adopted in 1981; 54% of these students are white and 46% minority.

Of these new students enrolled up to 1983, 760 or 74% were assigned to their first-choice schools and 170 or 17% were assigned to either their second or third-choice schools. "Mandatory" assignments - to a school other than those selected - were given to 93 students, or 9% of those enrolling in the system.

Analysis of the selections made shows a clear trend for parents to opt for schools outside of their old attendance districts. In 1978 less than 20% of students in grades K-8 attended schools outside of their old attendance districts. In 1983, after three years of assignments on the basis of choice, to the extent compatible with desegregation, 50% of all K-8 students are attending schools outside of their original attendance districts.

The proportion of students attending schools for which their parents have indicated a preference is generally comparable to that in Boston. One difference should be noted: in Cambridge all parents enroll students once, centrally, and may indicate preferences at that time, while in Boston there is an annual process of applications which results in a high no-return rate from parents who simply want their children to continue in the present school.

The attached table, prepared by Michael Alves, shows that no school in Cambridge is enrolling more than 19% of its new students by a mandatory assignment, and that no school enrolls less than 60% of its new students by first choice. The strength of such a system is that it becomes extremely important for school officials to assure that all schools are relatively equally attractive, while encouraging real diversity. If some schools were perceived as generally much better and others as generally much worse, a high proportion of parents would be disappointed and upset. Choice-based assignments, as they operate in Cambridge, are a formula to improve <u>all</u> schools.

Prepared by Michael Alves

Cambridge Public Schools

Distribution of New Students: November 1, 1983

School	*Total Assigned	1st Choice	2nd/3rd Choice	Mandatory	% 1st Choice	% 2nd/3rd Choice	% Mandatory	No. White	No. Minority	% White	% Minority
Agassiz	61	48	2	11	79	3	18	34	27	56	27
Fitzgerald	108	84	19	5	78	18	4	47	61	44	56
Fletcher	62	44	11	7	71	18	11	34	28	55	45
Haggerty	43	33	7	3	77	16	7	18	25	42	58
Graham/Parks	47	40	0	7	85	0	15	28	19	60	40
Harrington	106	67	19	20	63	18	19	39	67	37	63
Kennedy	10	9	0	1	90	0	10	7	3	70	30
King	127	76	36	15	60	28	12	75	52	59	41
Longfellow	34	25	6	3	74	18	8	29	5	85	15
Morse	97	85	10	2	88	10	2	48	49	49	51
Peabody	129	99	23	7	77	18	5	77	52	60	40
Roberts	67	47	12	8	70	18	12	36	31	54	46
Tobin	132	103	25	4	78	19	3	83	49	63	37
TOTALS 1983	1,023	760	170	93	74	17	9	555	468	54	46
TOTALS 1982	899	681	110	108	76	12	12	444	455	49	51
DIFFERENCE	+124	+79	+60	-15	-2	+5	-3	+111	+13	+5	-5

Note: *Total New Students Assigned as of November 1, 1983 does not include 99 Bilingual Students (Portuguese, Greek, Hispanic, Asian and Haitian) programmatically assigned to Harrington, Longfellow, and Graham & Parks.

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CHELSEA

Chelsea is tied with Holyoke for the second highest percentage of Hispanic enrollment in Massachusetts (37%), well ahead of Springfield (24%) and Boston (16%), but behind Lawrence (43%).

In actual numbers Chelsea ranks sixth, as it did in 1978.

Two of Chelsea's four elementary schools are large and predominantly minority; two are small and predominantly white:

	1983 Enrollment	1983 % White
Burke	213	82%
Prattville	226	87%
Shurtleff	435	37%
Williams (K-8)	833	34%

Several years ago EEO talked with Superintendent McGee about the causes and possible solutions to this strong ethnic identifiability of schools. The discussions were inconclusive; we urged that no school closing decisions (for example, a possible merger of Burke and Prattville) be made without in-depth consultation for possible impact on minority isolation, but we did not suggest any positive remedies at that time.

More recently we have been concerned to increase the availability of vocational education opportunities for minority students from Chelsea.

Chelsea will be a priority for EEO in 1984. While conventional desegregation strategies may be of limited value there, the large number of Hispanic students (1,250) and an increasing Asian enrollment (151) call for a review of what equal educational opportunity means for this community.

FRAMINGHAM

Framingham ranked eleventh in the state in percent of Hispanic enrollment in 1978, and has moved up to tenth in 1983, displacing Lynn. The community remains twelfth in the number of Hispanic students: 586 in 1983.

Several years ago EEO reviewed with then-Superintendent Albert Benson his school closing and program reassignment plans to assure that minority isolation would not inadvertently be increased.

We have kept an eye on Memorial School, whose steadily increasing minority enrollment had reached 37.1% in 1982 (up from 19.4% in 1978). Memorial has a very diverse enrollment economically as well as ethnically, and the principal is working to achieve in-school integration by stressing heterogeneous grouping.

EEO is prepared to work with Framingham to prevent minority isolation and to improve and diversify the options available to minority and majority parents alike. There are, however, no issues which have been brought to our attention which would require our intervention to protect constitutional rights.

HOLYOKE

Over the past several years the Holyoke School System, with a 40% minority enrollment, has developed and implemented a very sound desegregation plan with broad-based community support. Holyoke is the only Massachusetts system, aside from Boston, which has done so with the involvement of a Federal District Court as well as of the Department of Education.

Our involvement began in October 1977, in response to a request for advice from elementary supervisor George Counter about the legal impact of proposed movement of elementary students which would have the effect of further isolating Hispanic students. We explained the dangers of such a course, and offered assistance in developing a sound approach to student assignments. Such planning did not really begin until early 1980, when the prospective closing of one of the schools in the Hispanic section of Holyoke forced a decision about placement of students.

Over the subsequent months we worked with the system to develop a plan which reassigned the fifth and sixth grades to two predominantly white schools, while accommodating the lower grades in a new Morgan School facility next door to the old school. This was seen as a temporary solution, however, and we continued to work with Counter - who became Acting Superintendent and then Superintendent - to come up with a stable long-term plan.

Meanwhile, the Hispanic Parents Advisory Council brought a class action suit in Federal District Court charging violations of the constitutional rights of minority students. Our role became one of seeking to mediate a remedy which would satisfy the concerns of these parents, which would be considered positive by Holyoke school officials, and which would satisfy all legal requirements.

The keystone of this remedy was agreement to a plan that included the following elements:

stability
educational soundness
strengthening of bilingual education
fiscal responsibility
equity of burden and benefits
safety and security
increased voluntary options
no more transportation than necessary
effective desegregation

Once these criteria were generally accepted it became a matter of reacting to options developed by the school department, with suggestions from the Hispanic parents and the state, in terms of criteria which we all accepted.

After acceptable options had been negotiated, Superintendent Counter began a series of community meetings to obtain reactions and to modify the options. His objective was to involve all parts of the community and to build a consensus for the plan before it was in final shape, rather than to have to "sell" a plan which was already adopted. We met with the School Committee and attended public hearings as needed, to explain the considerations which we would use in our review and to provide information about successful desegregation - and problems - in other cities.

The School Committee adopted a plan in May 1981, and it was approved by the Board of Education in June and implemented in September, despite lack of full cooperation by the Mayor. In December 1981 Judge Frank Freedman - by coincidence the Mayor of Springfield when the Six District Plan was ordered in that community - approved a consent decree entered into by the Hispanic parents and the Holyoke city and school officials, retaining jurisdiction of the case. The consent decree required ongoing implementation of the plan which the Board had approved, regular reports on implementation, negotiation prior to modifications, and expenditure of additional funds as necessary to carry out the plan.

Impact of the 1980 and 1981 Desegregation Plans (percent minority)

	Grades 1981	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Zone I*						
Highland	(1-3)	5.9%	8%	51.5%	53.3%	55%
Kelly	(4-6)	78.7%	81.5%	56.3%	52.7%	50%
Zone II						
Kirtland	(K-3)	4.8%	8%	39.5%	22.2%	40%
Metcalf	(K-3)	.8%	2%	48.9%	55.4%	64%
Lawrence	(K, 4-6)	76.1%	79.7%	57.3%	63.9%	57%
Zone III						
McMahon	(K-3)	1.6%	18%**	19.6%	24.6%	25%
Morgan	(K-3)	77.8%	82%	82.3%	82.4%	76%
Sullivan	(K, 4-6)	28.4%	45%	27.2%	34.6%	43%
Donahue	(K, 4-6)	8%	20%**	43.8%	40.9%	47%

*NOTE: K and a 766 program in the E.N. White School
**result of preliminary desegregation measures

Note that the Morgan - source of the original issue - has remained minority identifiable. This is an example of the flexibility to special circumstances which should always be part of desegregation planning. The new Morgan was so much smaller than the building which it replaced that it had already been necessary to assign all of the upper grades out of the neighborhood; we agreed that to assign half of the lower grades as well would be an inequitable burden upon minority students, and accepted a magnet approach to encourage voluntary transfers in and out of the school.

Successful School Desegregation

In some ways Holyoke has become the Commonwealth's most interesting example of successful school desegregation. Of all the systems involved in desegregation, Holyoke is one place where success would have seemed unlikely. Prior to desegregation, the Holyoke Public Schools were in constant trouble with the Department in most program areas. Throughout the 1970s the Springfield Regional Center had cited Holyoke for non-compliance in Title I, Bilingual and Special Education, Student Rights, Chapter 622, and Occupational Education. In the words of one veteran school official, "Holyoke was a mess."

Under the leadership of Superintendent George Counter and his staff the system was able to use desegregation as a catalyst for initiating comprehensive educational reform at the elementary level. Such schools as the Kelly, Morgan and Lawrence which even School Committee characterized as being "lousy" before desegregation, have now become effective urban schools. Instead of being seen as a stagnant and second-rate system, Holyoke has now become a system where new programs in science, bilingual education, human relations and reading are commonplace.

Of particular note is that school officials have used desegregation as an opportunity to heal the city's racial wounds. In a residentially segregated city, the schools could not be expected to solve all of Holyoke's racial problems. By dealing directly with these issues, however, school officials have been able to improve the quality of life for Hispanic and other minority children in the Holyoke Public Schools. During our monitoring in the fall it was gratifying to talk with Anglo and Hispanic parents who clearly believe that their children are better off today because of school desegregation.

In his 1983 desegregation report to the Bureau, Superintendent Counter provided an interesting commentary on what school desegregation has accomplished in Holyoke:

> Since Holyoke desegregated its elementary schools it has become apparent that the effects of school integration will be pervasive, positive and far reaching. Some of the effects were easy to anticipate and fairly easy to measure, such as changes in enrollment patterns or incidence of low-income populations within schools, or changes in transportation planning, etc. With the exception of Morgan School (which was given special status in the Consent Decree to prevent an undue burden to minority students there) the minority isolation in the system has been almost eliminated. Because of the design of the plan, economic desegregation was greatly furthered as well. All this was accomplished with stable enrollment and less than 3% "white flight."
>
> Other effects of desegregation on the schools which may not have been so readily anticipated or handily measured may in fact have greater impact over time.
>
> What we learned in Holyoke was that all of the anxiety and tension which had built up in the community during the negotiations and planning process was quickly dissipated with the opening of school in September of 1981. After the summer of intense public interest and apprehension, media coverage, and hectic preparation for school opening, the actual beginning of school was almost anti-climatic. The entire city seemed to breathe a sign of relief when the chaos, confusion, and even violence that some had feared failed to materialize.
>
> For many people in the community, the "story" was over. The schools had been successfully desegregated. For others, especially school staff and many parents, it soon became apparent that the story was only beginning, not ending. Even while the media were losing interest in the desegregation of the schools as a story (no news is good news?), parents were not (many parents continued the level of involvement which they had demonstrated during the planning process). Participation in PTO groups and school activities increased substantially. Parents began to ask more questions about the entire educational process, not just about desegregation. Prior to desegregation, most parents seemed to assume that everything was all right in the schools.

This enthusiatic (and sometimes critical) parent interest in the schools has had a very salutary effect on the educational climate. There is a much greater awareness of accountability on the part of administration and staff. Many areas of the school program which had gone unreviewed for many years have come in for scrutiny and revision. Significant changes in program are beginning to appear in a number of academic areas.

In the summer of 1982, following the first year of desegreation, a five-day seminar on the results of year one was held for middle management. That was the first time in anyone's memory that the Holyoke School Department had ever set aside time for reflection and evaluation. Out of that seminar grew a five-part action plan for the 1982-1983 school year with goals in the areas of staff development, bilingual education, curriculum, leadership and management, and community.

As a result of this type of evaluation and planning a quality of leadership is emerging at all levels of the school system in which many staff are taking an active role in promoting integration and the success of the school program. Perhaps our greatest measure of success is that the process of providing equal educational opportunity is being slowly but surely institutionalized, becoming a natural part of what we are supposed to be about. Together with this development of internal leadership and institutionalization has come a changing school climate that encourages the use of many different resources to further the school program.

This kind of reflection has extended to the School Committee as well. The School Committee had not only grappled with issues of school desegregation but begun to reflect on its own program priorities for the 80's in light of the needs of the community. The committee has initiated a long-overdue assessment of the elementary education program.

While all of this may sound rather unremarkable for many school systems, this kind of change is almost revolutionary for Holyoke. It is apparent that with the beginning of desegregation, a process was set in motion here whose ultimate effects will go far beyond what was foressen in the early days of the planning process.

While it is too early to make any conclusive statements about the effects of school desegregation on Hispanic/Anglo relations in Holyoke, some encouraging indications of spillover into the community have begun to appear.

Taken in isolation, any one of these occurrences may appear insignificant. Seen in context they take on more meaning. Two of the most tangible manifestations of community involvement occurred in the Spring of 1982, towards the end of the first year of desegregation. In April the Bilingual Program sponsored a festival which featured exhibits, class presentations, performances, workshops, music and Hispanic food. Students from the bilingual program and the Spanish as a second language program worked together on some of the presentations. The result was a happy, upbeat event attended by hundreds of parents and community people from both the Hispanic and English speaking community. In late May the enthusiastic public participation seen at the Bilingual Festival was repeated at a giant Multi-cultural Fair held in and around the Sullivan School. The fair was held on a warm day in May and was thronged by a very well integrated crowd who partook of games, exhibits, performances and good tasting.

At the Kirtland School last year a group of English speaking parents got together and asked for the opportuniry to learn conversational Spanish. As a result of this a class in conversational Spanish was offered by the 636 Director, Felicita El-Ghadi. Both Mrs. El-Ghadi and the parents volunteered their time for the class, which ended with a series of activities that included Anglo and Hispanic parents attending church services together in Spanish and dining together in homes and in a Latin restaurant.

Another very encouraging sign of rapprochement between the two communities occurred in the context of the school budget struggle for the 1982-1983 school year. The Spring of 1982 saw widespread public lobbying of the Mayor on behalf of the School Department. In the Spring of that year the president of the Bilingual PAC and the president of the Central PTO addressed a rally at City Hall in support of the school budget attended by parents from Anglo and Hispanic community. Following that rally, the two organizations agreed to expand and continue their collaborative efforts, with the Bilingual PAC inviting the Central PTO to send delegates to all PAC meetings.

Besides these tentative signs of the beginnings of a thaw in relations between the two communities, there have been some other signs of desegregation having had effects beyond the immediate school community. One of those is the Holyoke business community's recent "discovery" of the public schools, which is being actively

encouraged by the Superintendent. As an apparent result of the widespread publicity which accompanied desegregation, a group of leaders in the business community became interested in the schools and began to approach the Superintendent with requests for information on the system. Out of these initial contacts has grown the Superintendent's Industrial Advisory Committee, a group which meets regularly with the Superintendent. This group itself has undergone an interesting transformation, with the early tone of mild skepticism giving way to one of the growing advocacy and support.

Whether these early signs of the effect of desegregation on the community will ever blossom into something larger is a tale that only the future can tell. This is still a community beset with many social problems, as the recent suit brought against the city by a minority coalition on housing issues will attest. How the city responds to that and other issues may yet be influenced by the example of accommodation and cooperation shown by all sides in the desegregation of the schools.

I am confident that the Holyoke Public Schools have taken a giant step forward. In the face of Proposition 2½, Reagonomics, and budget controversies, the schools, have taken hold of a very controversial issue and dealt with it successfully. We are not yet where we want to be, but we are much further along than we thought we would be.

George Counter's description of how attitudes within the public schools and in the wider community have improved through the catalytic desegregation process of the last four years is deeply encouraging. Much, of course, has been a response to his leadership and the trust which he has been able to inspire; though his style is different, he has gained broad community confidence just as Superintendent John Deady was able to do in Springfield during its initial desegregation a decade ago. A more recent parallel is the leadership of Superintendent Thomas Donahoe, again in Springfield, leading up to adoption of a high school desegregation plan and then victory in a city-wide referendum in December 1982. In Springfield as in Holyoke desegregation, under the right leadership, has brought a community together in support of its public schools.

The encouraging progress in Holyoke is also an indication of the usefulness of EEO's strategy (currently being employed in Lawrence) of encouraging the development of a consensus in the community on the criteria by which a plan will be assessed, including the educational considerations, before specific desegregation options are discussed. The planning process itself helped bring unity.

LAWRENCE

Minority Isolation

As we reported last year, a major concern of the Bureau has been the increasing isolation of minority students in the Lawrence Public Schools, and the apparent failure of local school authorities to implement their 1980 desegregation plan. Overall minority enrollment in the Lawrence Public Schools has increased 55% in the past five years, the steepest in the State. In particular, Lawrence has experienced the greatest change with respect to Hispanic students of any school system in Massachusetts.

Since 1978, Hispanic enrollment statewide has gone up an average of 8%, while in Lawrence during the same period the proportion of Hispanic students has gone from 29% in 1978 to 43% in 1983.

Lawrence Public Schools: Percent Minority Enrollment

School	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Arlington	58%	61%	63%	56%	70%	72%
Breen	13%	14%	24%	25%	23%	26%
Bruce	25%	32%	34%	39%	42%	43%
Hennessey	69%	66%	68%	72%	68%	68%
Lawlor	29%	-	-	-	61%	56%
Leahy	42%	35%	39%	36%	49%	64%
Leonard	84%	83%	82%	80%	71%	70%
Rollins	6%	9%	18%	19%	13%	9%
Salem Street	10%	13%	14%	17%	25%	41%
Saunders	6%	6%	7%	11%	14%	8%
Storrow	6%	11%	14%	15%	12%	40%
Tarbox	55%	63%	62%	73%	75%	73%
Wetherbee	7%	8%	16%	21%	26%	28%
Kane Junior High	6%	10%	12%	17%	17%	19%
Oliver Junior High	45%	51%	56%	60%	62%	62%
Lawrence High School	29%	35%	40%	46%	50%	46%
Systemwide	32%	36%	40%	44%	46%	49%

When measured against the standard used by Judge Garrity in the Boston desegregation case [that the racial composition of each desegregating school should not vary more than plus or minus 25% of the actual racial proportions of the system or subdistricts], it is obvious that Lawrence has had a history of racially identifiable public schooling going back to at least 1978.

Even a cursory review of the October 1983 racial census shows that 11 of the system's 15 elementary and junior high schools are racially identifiable under prevailing federal standards. Six of these schools are identifiable minority and five are identifiable white. What is particularly troubling to the Bureau is the fact that since the adoption of the Lawrence Plan in 1980 at least six of these schools have actually increased in terms of their racial identifiability. In short, available evidence indicates that the Lawrence Public Schools have become even more segregated after the adoption of the plan:

	Minority %	
	1980	1983
Arlington	63%	72%
Leahy	39%	64%
Tarbox	62%	73%
Oliver	56%	62%
Hennessey	68%	68%
Rollins	18%	9%

The Lawrence Plan

On May 20, 1980 the State Board of Education unanimously approved a comprehensive plan to eliminate minority isolation in the Lawrence Public Schools. This plan, which was formulated by the Superintendent and voluntarily adopted by the School Committee, called for sweeping changes in the structure of K-8 public schooling. Under this plan school officials were to have:

- reorganized the system into five subdistricts or educational zones with similar racial compositions by combining and redrawing school attendance boundaries;
- established a uniform grade structure wherein each zone would contain at least one K-8 school with K-5 feeder schools;

- developed supplementary magnet elements in each K-8 school;

- provided supportive staff development and parental involvement activities to ensure successful school desegregation; and

- begun construction of two new K-9 schools and converted three other schools for K-8 use.

In our 1981 and 1982 Reports to the Board we raised serious concerns as to the status of the Lawrence Plan. Our concerns had been amplified by the fact that since 1979 the Board had awarded over $230,000 in Chapter 636 non-instructional desegregation planning grants to Lawrence, including paying for contracts with a private firm specializing in developing desegregation assignment options. Despite this support and continuous assistance and advice from the Bureau of EEO, Lawrence officials had still not implemented their own plan.

According to the Superintendent, the major cause for delaying implementation had been the fiscal constraints imposed on the system by Proposition 2½, and the inability of the system to qualify for extra State "racial balance" reimbursements for desegregation-related school construction and renovation projects. As discussed earlier in this report, the original language of Chapter 636 made no provision for assisting school systems developing plans to reduce "Hispanic" isolation, and therefore systems such as Holyoke, Worcester and Lawrence were not able to receive the full benefits of the law.

In the case of Lawrence, this meant that the system could not obtain additional State reimbursements for its two new schools and other K-8 renovation projects. Without this additional aid, the Superintendent and other Lawrence officials claimed that there was no way for the system to secure municipal financing for its new schools, and without these new schools the plan could not be fully implemented.

However understandable such fiscal and political constraints may be in terms of a city being able to build new schools in the aftermath of Proposition 2½, they do not adequately explain why school officials failed to develop new student assignment options and otherwise implement those portions of the plan that were not dependent upon new school construction. Nor do they explain why after the Lesislature amended Chapter 636 to allow for extra construction and renovation reimbursements to facilitate Hispanic

desegregation, in December 1981, Lawrence officials did not move forward on the construction of their two new schools. Consequently, we identified the desegregation of the Lawrence Public Schools as our top priority in the 1983-84 school year.

Final Desegregation Planning and Implementation

Following our Report to the Board last January, the Bureau Director, the Project Director and Department Counsel met with Superintendent Thayer, his desegregation staff, and legal counsel in an attempt to resolve the issues surrounding the implementation of the Lawrence Plan. As a result of this meeting conducted on January 10, 1983 and subsequent negotiations, an agreement was reached specifying the actions Lawrence would take in implementing its plan, including:

- developing additional student assignment options in consultation with the Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity, with parents, and with other concerned parties;
- presenting one of these options to the School Committee for approval;
- simultaneous construction of the two new schools - one to be located in the heavily Hispanic North Lawrence section of the city and the other to be on the site of the Frost School which was located in the predominantly white area of South Lawrence; and
- upon adoption of the final student assignment plan, the Superintendent would immediately implement those parts not dependent upon new school construction.

The above agreement has served as the framework for Bureau's interaction with Lawrence school officials during the past year, and it has also served as a basis for the State Board's conditional funding of Lawrence's desegregation planning efforts.

The following is a description of the cooperative actions taken by the Department and Lawrence school officials to resolve the problems associated with the final development of the Lawrence Plan.

Student Assignment Options

With funding provided by the State Board, Lawrence rehired the Ketron company for the explicit purpose of developing additional student assignment options to assist the Superintendent in making his final recommendation to the School Committee. Retaining the plan's original construct of subdividing the system into contiguous educational zones with similar racial compositions, Ketron generated numerous redistricting simulations using 5, 4, 3, and 2-zone models.

Each of these simulations was analyzed by the Bureau and Department Counsel in order to assess their desegregation efficacy, and otherwise determine the extent to which each model actually reduced minority identifiable public schooling. A careful analysis was also conducted in conjunction with TBE staff from the Northeast Regional Education Center in order to assess the projected impact of each model on existing bilingual education programs.

On August 26th, the Bureau Director informed the Superintendent that in light of the plan's original design and desegregation objectives, the Department's analyses indicated that a 3-zone model, which was similar to Holyoke's plan, appeared to provide a suitable framework within which Lawrence could achieve stable and equitable, long term school desegregation.

Parent Involvement

The Bureau also provided assistance to Lawrence by sharing information on how other Massachusetts systems such as Holyoke and Cambridge formulated and implemented their successful plans. In particular, the Bureau stressed the importance of involving minority and majority parents in the development of the final plan prior to its adoption by the School Committee.

All desegregating systems should respond to legitimate parental interests and concerns, so it was critical for Lawrence to establish a structure and process that ensured genuine parent participation in formulating the final plan.

In July, Lawrence used Chapter 636 funds to create and staff a Parent Information Center. Through the operation of the PIC, parents have been able to obtain information on the status of Lawrence desegregation. More importantly, the PIC has conducted a series of public meetings through which parents have been given the opportunity to develop their own criteria for assessing successful school desegregation in the special circumstances of Lawrence. To assist parents in making informed judgments about effective

school desegregation, the PIC arranged for outside experts to meet with parents and help them refine their understanding of successful desegregation. These special advisors included Dorothy Jones, Desegregation Director in Cambridge and President of the National Committee for School Desegregation; Margaret Gallagher, Cambridge parent and coordinator of the system's parent liaisons; and Tim Barrett, Assistant Superintendent of the Holyoke Public Schools and former Bilingual Director, who played a major role in the development and implementation of the Holyoke desegregation plan.

As a result of these planning and information meetings, minority and majority parents have defined their own criteria for measuring an effective final plan, including provisions for: quality education, stability in desegregated student assignments, transportation efficiency, facility use, equity of burden, equal access to educational benefits resulting from the plan, and parent involvement in ongoing educational decision-making.

The Final Plan

During the past several months, the Bureau has focused its efforts on supporting the Superintendent and his staff as they develop the final elements of their plan. In particular, we have attempted to help Lawrence school officials build upon the solid work and progress made by parents in defining the essential ingredients of successful desegregation in Lawrence.

It is our expcectation that the Superintendent will be recommending a final plan to the school Committee in April that will clearly pass the tests of effective school desegregation. Each desegregation plan must, of course, accommodate itself to the unique features and circumstances of a individual community, but there are common principles by which to measure the adequacy of any plan. Thus we anticipate that the Superintendent will recommend a plan which is legally sufficient, administratively feasible, equitable, and educationally sound. When the School Committee adopts such a plan it will be brought before the State Board for approval.

It is likely that the plan adopted by the Lawrence School Committee will stress the construction of two new K-8 schools. These projects have been delayed, as noted above, by concerns about the capability of the City of Lawrence to bear the financial burden, even with very substantial state reimbursement. On January 20th the directors of School Building Assistance and of EEO attended a meeting in Lawrence, at the request of the Superintendent, to provide information on state requirements to a group of local leaders

seeking to put together a funding strategy which would permit the projects to proceed. There appeared to be a commitment on the part of all to do whatever might be necessary to assure that the schools were built and would serve their purpose in the desegregation plan as well as in the future of education in Lawrence.

Conclusion

More than any other system covered in this report, Lawrence stands at a critical point in the development of a desegregation plan. Decisions made over the next three months will shape the Lawrence public schools - and the community - for years to come.

The description, in this report, of the progress made by the Holyoke schools under the impetus of desegregation, the evaluation data provided by the Springfield schools, the new diversity and excitement evident in the Worcester schools, the enhanced parent involvement in Cambridge and other communities show what the desegregation process could mean for Lawrence.

Superintendent Thayer has expressed his commitment to recommend a plan which will be sound and effective, and will be able to gain wide community support. EEO has made support for this process a high priority - second only to the Boston monitoring effort - for the past year. The next months are critical, and we will keep the Commissioner and Board informed of how the situation develops.

Note

On February 8th the community-wide planning group will meet in Lawrence to review the various desegregation options which have been developed, and to eliminate those which do not meet the standards worked out in a series of meetings this Fall. These standards, Superintendent Thayer wrote recently to parents and community representatives, "pivot on equity". He went on to stress that, "desegregation gives a chance to improve the educational program of all of our children. You can help to make it work!"

So the process moves forward . . .

LOWELL

The Lowell Plan

On April 8, 1981 the Lowell School Committee voluntarily adopted a plan to reduce and eliminate minority isolation through the use of "thematic" magnet schools in Grades K-8. Under this plan, which was approved by the State Board of Education in May 1981 and reaffirmed by the School Committee in February 1983, Lowell officials have created two new K-8 magnets, The Arts and City School, expanded the Rogers magnet school project, and are currently in the process of developing four additional thematic magnets to reduce minority isolation at the Green School.

So-called thematic magnet schools aim at facilitating voluntary desegregation by offering parents and students educational options that are not readily available in other schools within the system. The thematic approach to magnet schooling is based upon the belief that parents have varied and distinct educational interests and that the actual process of teaching and learning in any school is inherently differential. Not all teachers and students teach and learn alike. Advocates of distinctive magnet schools argue that variation and educational diversity are indeed positive attributes of urban schools and, if used properly, can lead to increased equal educational opportunities for all students.

During the past six years the Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity and the Northeast Regional Education Center have provided extensive technical assistance and advice to Lowell officials in the development of their thematic magnet schools. Since 1979 the State Board has awarded over $900,000 in direct support of the Lowell Plan.

An important feature of Lowell's magnet schools is that they are grounded in what parents have actually identified as being educationally attractive. With funding assistance provided by Chapter 636, Lowell school officials and members of the Citywide Parents Planning Council conducted in-depth parent-interest surveys in each of the system's 26 elementary and intermediate schools prior to the adoption of the Lowell Plan. The purpose of the surveys, carried out in 1980 and 1981, was to determine the extent of parental satisfaction with the Lowell Public Schools, and on the basis of this information, identify particular educational options that might be attractive to parents and thereby facilitate voluntary school desegregation.

The surveys showed that while over 85% of the parents were "satisfied" with their child's education, 84.6% indicated that they "would like to be able to choose the educational program" best suited for their child. Consequently, parents were asked to identify their educational preferences within a range of educational options that could be developed into thematic magnet schools. As a result of such pre-implementation planning, Lowell has developed the following thematic magnet schools:

The Rogers Fundamental School

The Rogers is a K-8 magnet school that offers parents a fundamental or core curriculum and a school climate that stresses individual responsibility, self-discipline and order. Students are required to master their basic skills in reading, writing and mathematics, and the instructional goal of the school is to have children perform at grade-level in their core subjects. Enrichment is also stressed, and Chapter 636 funds have been used to provide supplemental programs in computer education, music and environmental studies. Parents are encouraged to play an active role in shaping school-level policies, and through the operation of the Parent/Teacher Center, parents have helped set school standards in such areas as discipline and homework.

As the system's oldest magnet school, the Rogers has undergone dramatic changes during the past six years and today is considered one of Lowell's most effective elementary schools. There is also solid evidence that the Rogers magnet has made significant progress in reducing minority isolation. This year, for example, 121 white students attend the Rogers on a magnet (voluntary) basis.

The Rogers Fundamental School: Percent Minority

1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
42%	43%	34%	36%	30%	24%

The Arts Magnet School

The Arts Magnet teaches reading, writing and mathematics through a curriculum that is designed to foster individual creativity in the fine, performing and practical arts. The Arts Magnet is located on the campus of the University of Lowell, and utilizes the expertise and talents of the University's faculty and students. Its core curriculum consists of drama, music, photography, English,

mathematics, science and social studies. Classes are organized around particular "arts modules" that stress a specific artistic theme and include students from all ages, races and grade-levels. An interesting feature of the Arts Magnet is that each module culminates in a student production that emphasizes individual and group learning achievements. For example, in 1983, students studied the architecture of Lowell and produced a multi-media slide presentation of Edgar Allen Poe's "The Bell's" using the bell towers of Lowell, while another group of students participated in the Merrimack Regional Theater's production of "A Christmas Carol" by Dickens.

The Arts Magnet is a racially balance school that voluntarily enrolls 164 students of whom 62% are white and 38% minority.

The City School

The City School is a K-8 magnet school whose students create, organize and manage their own micro-society, and in the process learn that the mastery of basic educational skills are essential tools for building a successful democratic society. In the City School students organize and operate all aspects of their own economy. They learn how to start businesses and invest money through the operation of their own non-profit corporation. They also write, edit and market their own publications, and they run their own government. The curriculum is organized around six educational offerings: economy, publishing, government, energy, high technology and research. Parents play a vital role in the school and use their skills as citizens, accountants, lawyers, crafts-persons, engineers, etc. to help develop the micro-society. Parents also serve on the school's executive council and on the board of directors of the school's non-profit corporation. With respect to basic skills development, on average 5th through 8th grade students scored well above grade-level in math and reading. The City School voluntarily enrolls 212 students of whom 60% are white and 40% minority.

The Green Continuous Progress School

The Green School is a K-3 continuous progress school that emphasizes the use of computer assisted instruction. As developed in Lowell, continuous progress aims at allowing children to progress at their own pace in each subject area. The program stresses individualized instruction and consequently students perform at different grade-levels in different subject areas. Originally, the Green School was to become a "Montessori" school, but due to actions of the

School Committee the Green has had to develop a new magnet school theme this year. Historically, the Green has been the system's most minority isolated school:

The Green School: Percent Minority

1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
60%	62%	59%	56%	64%	52%

This year's reduction in minority isolation is due to the Superintendent's consolidation of the Indochinese bilingual program into the Greenhalge School which resulted in the reassignment of 24 Asian students out of the Green. In addition, over 58 other minority students have transferred out of the Green into the system's other magnet schools. To date only four white students have voluntarily enrolled at the Green.

The Greenhalge Continuous Progress and Human Resources School

Like the Green, the Greenhalge is a continuous progress school that stresses individual attention and instructional assistance in the mastery of basic educational skills. It has the additional attraction of providing a variety of human and social services not readily available in other schools: a full preschool program, a day care center, a foster grandparents' program, and after school educational workshops for parents. The Greenhalge is a K-4 school, that like the Green feeds children into the upper grades at the Bartlett. In its first year of operation, the Greenhalge has attracted only five Hispanic students by choice.

The Bartlett School of Science and Technology

With an enrollment of 700 students, the Bartlett is Lowell's largest and K-8 school, and is in its first year of development as a magnet school and currently enrolls four students of choice. As a feeder school for the Green and Greenhalge, the Bartlett has adopted the continuous progress theme in order to ensure continuity of instruction as students enter the upper grades from its feeder schools. Additionally, the Bartlett is also developing as a science and technology magnet, and has modified its curriculum to include such new subjects as biology, botany, advanced mathematics, and computer science.

The Lincoln Developmental School

As a K-4 "developmental" magnet school, the Lincoln aims at helping children learn according to their "natural stages of readiness."

The instructional program at the Lincoln is based on the belief that educational skills are only learned when they can be applied in a different setting. Special features of Lincoln include a pre school program for three and four-year olds, a full-day kindergarten, learning centers in each classroom, a library-media center, and community-based learning activities that use the city as extension of the classroom. As with the Green and Greenhalge, the development of the Lincoln Magnet was interrupted this past year due to actions of the school Committee, and it currently enrolls 11 Hispanic students by choice.

According to Superintendent Mroz, the varying success of Lowell's magnet schools is due to the School Committee's ambivalence in fully implementing its 1981 plan. As in other desegregating systems, the ultimate success of magnet schools hinges on the extent to which there is genuine local commitment to making such voluntary desegregation measures actually work. The reluctance of the School Committee to follow through with the further development of its remaining magnet schools directly undermined the Superintendent's efforts to reduce minority isolation at the Green School.

Despite the evident success of the Rogers, Arts and City Magnet Schools, the School Committee, in the Spring of 1982, prohibited the Superintendent from requesting continued Chapter 636 funding for the system's four remaining magnet schools. Consequently, ongoing students recruitment and program development activities at these schools came to an abrupt halt with the predictable result that the Green School became even more minority isolated in the following September.

Magnet Schools and Successful Voluntary Desegregation

When measured in terms of voluntary student enrollment, analysis of the Lowell Plan indicates that school officials have been successful in implementing the magnet concept in only three of their seven magnet schools.

LOWELL MAGNET SCHOOLS: VOLUNTARY STUDENT ENROLLMENT (1979-1983)

School	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Rogers	20	125	121	134	121
Arts			213	174	164
City			197	215	212
Lincoln					11
Greenhalge					5
Bartlett					4
Green					4
TOTALS	20	125	531	523	521
White	20	125	405	380	358
Minority	0	0	126	143	163

In the face of increased minority isolation at the Green School, Commissioner Lawson wrote to Superintendent Mroz in August and November 1982 and again in January 1983, making clear the School Committee's legal obligations to implement its own desegregation plan or else immediately formulate and adopt a legally sufficient alternative plan. Also, in August 1982, a group of Hispanic and white parents filed a complaint with the United States Office for Civil Rights, charging that the School Committee's deliberate failure to implement its own plan constituted unlawful discrimination under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

In response to these reminders of its obligations, the School Committee voted on February 9, 1983 to reaffirm its 1981 plan with some modifications, and authorized the Superintendent to go forward with the Green, Greenhalge, Lincoln and Bartlett magnet school development projects:

> "That the Lowell School Committee adopt the original voluntary Desegregation Plan of April 8, 1981, and that programs be implemented at the Green, Greenhalge, Lincoln and Bartlett Schools. The programs at these schools shalll not involve the hiring of new staff or outside consultants."

Upon notification of the School Committee's action, Commissioner Lawson informed the Superintendent that while he was "pleased" that the Committee had reaffirmed its commitment to remedy isolation, he would not recommend the amended plan to the State Board of Education until there was evidence that the plan was "in fact effective in reducing minority isolation," and otherwise resolved the civil rights issues raised by parents in their OCR complaint. The Commissioner further informed the Superintendent that in light of the School Committee's past refusal to fully implement its magnet school plan, the Committee should develop a "backup component" in the event that magnet schools failed to reduce minority isolation at the Green. The Bureau of Equal Educational Opportunity was instructed by the Commissioner to "closely monitor the implementation of the School Committee's voluntary desegregation plan."

The Green School and Magnet Schools Implementation

Despite renewed Chapter 636 funding and the unwavering commitment of the Superintendent, the Bureau of Equal Educational Oppportunity has found that the Green School is still undergoing difficulty in developing itself as a viable magnet school. Our monitoring of the Green School suggests that the apparent inability of the Green to attract white parents [only four white students are in the Green Magnet by choice] is due to factors beyond the control of the

school. As noted, under the 1981 plan, the Green was to become a thematic magnet school by providing a "Montessori" educational program, which parent-magnet-interest surveys had identified as being particularly attractive to both white and minority parents. As a result of the School Committee's actions prohibiting the Superintendent from obtaining Chapter 636 funding in 1982-83 and from hiring external consultants, the Green School has had to abandon its Montessori theme, and in effect start over again as magnet school.

As Superintendent Mroz reported to EEO,

> Because of the restraint imposed by the School Committee, in not allowing the hiring of outside technical assistance and new staff, the program at the Green School which had been developing as a Montessori Magnet School, had to be modified. This modification was necessary because a Montessori Consultant/Trainer was needed to continue the program as it had existed. The School Committee restriction prevent this. In the modification of the program at the Green School, the principal and staff have had to start almost from the beginning in the development of the continuous progress/computer assisted program. This will require a longer period of time in order to implement in grades 1-3.

In the light of the constraints placed upon further development of magnet schools, the Superintendent has requested the new magnet schools be given "more time to develop their programs." Since the Superintendent has taken additional measures to reduce minority isolation at the Green, and at least 58 minority students have voluntarily enrolled in the system's other magnets, we recommend that the Board support the Superintendent's request.

The problems encountered by the Green School only serve to underscore the fragile nature of successful voluntary desegregation, and clearly point to the critical need for consistent local leadership, at all levels.

LYNN

In response to Board of Education findings of racial imbalance at the Washington Community School in 1977 and 1978, Lynn school officials developed that school as a magnet to attract white students. The Board has approved over $500,000 in Chapter 636 magnet school funds since 1977 to support this voluntary desegregation effort, and we have provided ongoing technical assistance through the Regional Education Center.

The Board has never approved a racial balance plan for Lynn, and we will work with school officials to develop such a plan, incorporating such magnet elements as appear to be effective, over the next months.

With Lynn, as with other districts discussed in this report, our objective will be to encourage a local solution which will be truly voluntary, which will assure long-term stability, and which will strengthen educational opportunities to the satisfaction of minority and white parents alike.

Minority Enrollment of Selected Elementary Schools

	1978	1982	1983
Callahan	20%	23%	23%
Cobbet	13%	20%	26%
Connery	27%	31%	34%
Harrington	34%	42%	closed
Ingalls	20%	25%	37%
Washington	66%	55%	43%

MEDFORD

Although less than 5% of the public school population of Medford is Black or other minority, the West Medford area has a long-established Black community, and periodic racial tension has troubled this city. School desegregation became an issue during the 1960s, and in 1970 the School Committee adopted a racial balance plan in response to a suit brought by Black parents and to state pressure and advice.

The 1970 plan made the Hervey elementary school one of the first magnet schools in Massachusetts, attracting white students on a voluntary basis. Over the years the plan worked well, and served as the basis for outstanding efforts in multi-cultural education.

In 1980 the pressures of declining enrollment and Proposition 2½ led to a school closing plan which included the Hervey; Black parents and white parents committed to the integrated education provided by the Hervey objected. The Commissioner advised the Medford School Committee that this action would represent a major amendment to the racial balance plan which was approved by the Board in 1970, and should therefore be reviewed through the broad-based process required by the Racial Imbalance Law. Such a review would include a determination that the constitutional rights of minority students were protected.

The community planning process set in motion by Mayor Paul Donato spent more than a year developing options and reviewing them through public meetings. An amended plan was adopted by the School Committee in May 1982 and approved by the Board in June for implementation in September. The plan kept the Hervey, at least temporarily, as a K-2 magnet school, and designated the Brooks as a grade 3-6 magnet school, with future extension to grades K-8.

While the numbers involved are small, Medford represents a model planning process for desegregation, with these elements clearly evident:

(1) acceptance of responsibility by the Superintendent (first Daryl Pelletier, then Raymond Murano) for coming up with a solution, without waiting for enforcement action by the Board or a court;

(2) inclusion of a broad representation of parents, staff and concerned citizens in every step of the process;

(3) development of five options, all of which would satisfy state and federal desegregation standards, so that the School Committee was able to make a real choice among acceptable alternatives;

(4) commitment of all concerned to "make the plan work" by following-through before school opened in September and after; and

(5) an appropriate role for the state, providing resources, advice, and moral support, but not developing the plan itself.

METHUEN

Several years ago the Corliss School, which enrolled 95% of Hispanic students in Methuen, was partially destroyed by fire, and we became involved in advising the school system on a response which would protect the constitutional rights of those students.

One of the options, tc close the school and reassign the students, seemed to place an inequitable burden upon minority students, and we advised strongly against it. The School Committee chose instead to develop a plan for an enlarged Corliss replacement, which would draw white students from a wider area and would continue to serve the Corliss neighborhood. This plan was approved by the Board in June 1980 as a desegregation plan for Methuen.

Subsequent fiscal constraints and other considerations have delayed the implementation of this plan, and the Corliss students were "temporarily" reassigned to other schools effective September 1980.

Some months earlier Hispanic parents, in part because of concern about precisely this possibility, filed a complaint with the Office for Civil Rights alleging discrimination on the basis of race in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. So far as we have been able to determine, this complaint has never been resolved.

Although Methuen reports no school with more than 18% minority enrollment, we continue to be concerned about the equity issues inherent in the reassignment of the Hispanic students. We will include this system in our monitoring plans for 1984.

NEW BEDFORD

School desegregation has been an issue in New Bedford since 1965. Repeated findings of racial imbalance at four schools by the Board of Education and demands by the local Black and Cape Verdean communities produced only a promise of new school construction sometime in the future.

In 1971 the Board voted to withhold state aid from New Bedford until the School Committee adopted a satisfactory plan. The plan which emerged called for construction of four new schools (two in white and two in predominantly minority neighborhoods) and the encouragement of voluntary transfers of minority students on a seat-available basis.

This plan also continued the Greene School, a magnet school developed largely at the initiative of Cape Verdean parents, who recruited white volunteer students as a way to integrate and strengthen their school.

Despite an agreement that the schools would be built simultaneously, the two schools in white neighborhoods opened several years before the Gomes School and Carney Academy, whose expanded attendance areas brought white students into new facilities which replaced minority-identifiable schools. By 1977, however, the new schools opened and racial balance was achieved through extensive redistricting.

During the interim, the old Carney Academy served as a successful magnet school for white students; these magnet elements at Carney Academy and at Greene were suspended with implementation of redistricting. An "enrichment program" for academically-advanced students was established at Carney Academy, however, and served to increase the school's white enrollment.

In late 1981 New Bedford adopted a revised racial balance plan, which was approved by the Board in January 1982. This revised plan reduced the number of students transported by assigning many to schools nearer their homes; this was possible because of neighborhood changes which decreased minority student concentrations in certain schools.

Over the past several years we have encouraged New Bedford to consider reinstating magnet schools to permit flexible adjustments

to the racial balance plan. The need to do so had become more urgent with removal of the enrichment program from Carney Academy, which was becoming more minority identifiable:

	Minority Percent					
	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Carney Academy	49.6%	47.6%	48.2%	54.2%	56.9%	57%

Since Carney Academy was built with additional state reimbursement as part of a racial balance plan, we have a special concern that the desegregation of the school be stable and effective. We will continue to urge supplemental measures which will protect what has already been achieved.

Superintendent Nanopoulos has, on our advice, tightened up enforcement of New Bedford's policy on voluntary transfers to assure that transfers in and out of Carney Academy have a positive effect. Over time this should stabilize enrollment of this school, which we have long considered a model of effective urban education.

We should also mention the Chapter 636-funded part-time program for talented and gifted students which draws a racially diverse group of students to the Carney Academy. This program has been a pioneering effort in reaching the gifted child in non-traditional ways which have the effect of including minority students and students whose first language is not English.

SPRINGFIELD

The desegregation process in Springfield has been one of continuing development as the system adapts to a changing population and changing educational needs. Sometimes it has seemed that certain steps would never be taken, certain needs never addressed, as a result of the slow deliberative process which has characterized the community. The State has needed to remind and to prod from time to time, but never—since 1971-73, when Chapter 70 aid was impounded—to use its enforcement powers. Even more significantly, the school system has always developed its own solutions, ensured that they were educationally sound, and implemented them effectively.

Intermediate school desegregation was implemented in Springfield in 1968, and the elementary reassignment plan (which created primary and upper elementary schools) in 1974. Certain school closing and magnet school elements at the elementary level were implemented in 1976, as a result of Board concerns (supported by a Supreme Judicial Court ruling) about the isolation of Hispanic students in the North End. These measures have not been entirely effective, and represent one of the continuing issues which will be discussed below. In 1982 the Board approved an amendment to the 1974 Plan, permitting the closing of one school and changing of grade-level designation at another.

High schools in Springfield have been citywide for many years, and they have been fairly desegregated through student selections, though Classical and Putnam Vocational have become identically white by contrast with Commerce and Technical. Discussion of a high school plan had gone on for more than a decade, with periodic reminders from the State of the equal opportunity and desegregation considerations. In June 1982 the Board approved a plan for desegregation and improvement of the distribution of male and female students at the high schools, including construction of a new facility to replace Classical and Technical, an addition to Putnam, and extensive renovation and upgrading of Commerce. In December of that year the voters approved construction by a margin of 13,500 to 8,766, and construction began in December 1983. Progress in developing the program elements essential to the success of a voluntary enrollment plan will be discussed below.

Since the Boston and Springfield plans were implemented together ten years ago—September 1974—it seems appropriate to ask the same questions of the Springfield experience as of that of Boston. These are:

- What progress has been made in actually desegregating the Springfield schools since 1970?

- What is the nature of Springfield's desegregation plan?
- What have been the benefits to minority students?
- What are the continuing issues which require attention?

EXTENT OF DESEGREGATION

In 1970-71 the Springfield elementary schools were identifiable racially. Although overall enrollment was only 22% "non-white," 33% of "non-white" students attended schools over 70% "non-white." Of the five elementary schools located in the Black community, two were over 70% "non-white," two over 85% and one over 90%. The majority of Black elementary students attended these schools.

By 1978-79 37 schools out of 46, or 80%, grade K-12 had enrollments within 20 percentage points of the citywide minority proportion, with five schools (11%) above that range and four (9%) below it. The number of schools in this range has dropped to 28 out of 41, or 68%, in 1983-84, with six schools (15%) above the range and seven (17%) below it. The minority share of overall enrollment has risen from 45% in 1978-79 to 54% in 1983-84, a moderate rate of change compared with other urban systems in Massachusetts. [Actual minority enrollment has increased by only 1% since 1978-79, compared with 23% in Brockton, 24% in Worcester, 31% in Holyoke, 50% in Chelsea and 55% in Lawrence.]

The measures taken in 1974 and 1976 clearly had a substantial impact upon minority isolation and the racial identifiability of schools, but some ground has been lost since 1978-79. By the standard used here, the Springfield schools are currently less thoroughly "desegregated" than are the Boston schools, though they continue to compare very positively with the isolation prior to desegregation, and with most Northern cities.

The context of present and future desegregation-and equal opportunity-efforts in Springfield is shaped by the rapid increase in Hispanic enrollment, numerically the second highest in the state [1978 to 1983: Lawrence + 1322, Springfield + 1021, Holyoke +742]. This increase is largely offset by the second largest decrease in Black enrollment in the state [1978 to 1983: Boston - 3588, Springfield - 945, New Bedford - 243]. Hispanic enrollment in Springfield had increased by 22%, and Black has decreased by 12%. Since the 1974 Plan was designed to desegregate Black and white students, and deliberately left predominantly-Hispanic schools unaffected, it has grown less and less effective as the population has shifted. The

measures worked out with the State subsequently and implemented starting in 1976 were aimed at Hispanic isolation, but were much less sweeping and systematic than the 1974 measures.

The Plan ordered by Judge Garrity for Boston 1975, by contrast, showed almost equal concern for isolation of Hispanic as of Black students, which helps to explain the greater desegregation in 1983-84 in Boston. That Plan also applied to all grade levels, of course, and the remaining (or recurrent) isolation in Springfield is disproportionately at the high school level.

Springfield is moving ahead to implement its high school desegregation plan, and will be proposing further modifications of its elementary and intermediate school plans, to respond, as before, to the changing need. In both cases measures to reduce minority isolation will be essentially educational and will contribute to continued improvement of opportunities for Springfield students.

NATURE OF SPRINGFIELD DESEGREGATION

Springfield has relied largely upon structural measures to achieve race desegregation, though lately the system is turning increasingly to voluntary enrollment on the basis of distinctive programs. This has, of course, long been a feature of the four "thematic" high schools, and the high school racial balance plan simply adds a more consistent intention so to manage program development and recruitment that the three continuing high schools will be racially desegregated and also not identifiable by sex.

The junior high school racial balance plan, implemented in 1968, closed the junior high school located in the Black community and divided its attendance area among the schools surrounding that community. The effect has been lasting; none of the junior high schools today is more than 50% Black.

The School Committee also adopted, and the Board approved, an elementary plan which would have built new schools in white neighborhoods and then closed the five elementary schools in the predominatly Black section of Springfield. In 1970, after community protests, the Board changed its mind about the fairness of this approach, and ordered Springfield to adopt a more equitable plan, as well as to move ahead with short-term measures. After several years of enforcement action and litigation, the Board approved a plan developed by the School Department though not endorsed by the School Committee, and this "Six District Plan" was implemented in September 1974.

To quote Dr. John Howell, the Springfield Research Director and very able overseer of ongoing desegregation efforts in that community, the Plan:

"1. Established six enlarged elementary school districts, five of which included one of the racially imbalanced elementary schools.

2. Reorganized the elementary schools into new administrative units consisting of kindergarten through fourth grade schools and grades five and six in each of the newly enlarged school districts.

3. Allowed kindergarten pupils to remain in their neighborhood schools.

4. Permitted most elementary school children to attend their neighborhood school for part of their elementary school experience.

5. Permitted pupils presently participating in voluntary plans to remain in the programs.

6. Transferred 5,791 pupils, including 3,689 white pupils and 2,102 black pupils."

In brief, the grade structure was reorganized in such a way that every student, in the normal course of progression through the elementary grades, would always attend a desegregated school, and would attend a nearby school for some of those grades and a school in another neighborhood for other grades. The effect was to assure fairness and stability, though at the cost of students attending two schools during the elementary years. This reorganization has remained in effect for a decade, so that every student who entered a school in the early years followed the progression of schools outlined at that time to his or her parents, except as this was modified by school closings or by voluntary transfers.

When the Board ordered the Plan which was implemented in September 1974, it also directed the School Committee to develop a long-range plan which would cover the construction measures set aside several years earlier, and would also reduce the continuing isolation of Hispanic students in the North End of Springfield. These students had been unaffected by the Six District Plan, since they were not considered "non-white" as Springfield interpreted that term used by the Racial Imbalance Law. While recognizing that Springfield had met the requirements of that state law, the Board expressed concern that continuing isolation might constitute a violation of

rights guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment, held to cover Hispanic students since the Keyes (Denver) decision of 1970. There was a "continuing obligation" to develop some remedy to this isolation of Hispanic students.

In August 1975 the Board ordered Springfield to implement a variety of measures to reduce Hispanic isolation, including some bearing upon the use of the just-opening New North School, others involving the closing of several old facilities and the reassignment of their largely Hispanic population, and yet others involving the development of "magnet" measures to complete the desegregation of Hispanic students.

It is notable that Springfield Superintendent John Deady had reservations about magnet schools, feeling that they had the potential to reverse his long-term efforts to make every school of equal quality. As a protection against this possibility, Springfield did not create any citywide magnet schools (except, later, for an alternative junior high school); each school serves an assigned population and also a smaller number of students drawn on a voluntary basis. Five of Springfield's magnet schools enroll less than 10% of their enrollment on a magnet basis, and the highest magnet proportion is 40% (Warner).

Only one magnet school in Springfield enrolls a large number of volunteer students (New North—over 300 each year), and the total voluntary enrollment in the twelve magnet elementary and junior high schools is 1,054 in 1983-84, about the number which Worcester has attained in a much shorter time. As suggested above, this has been the result largely of deliberate policy, though there are indications that Springfield is interested in expanding its magnet enrollment over the next several years.

It is interesting to note that a primary conclusion of Springfield's latest annual evaluation of Chapter 636-funded programs, including magnet schools, is exactly parallel with that ot the Board's January 1984 monitoring report on "special desegregation schools" in Boston. The Springfield report concludes that,

> "while magnet schools have had a definite impact on improving the racial distribution of students at magnet schools, there is still room for improvement if magnet schools are truly to be effective at 'fine-tuning' the Six District Desegregation Plan. Aggressive and innovative marketing and perhaps alterations in magnet programs must continue to be explored if magnet schools are to accomplish their fullest potential."

A description of each of the magnet schools in Springfield was prepared by the Chapter 636 Office and is included in the following pages:

[prepared by Vivian George,
Springfield School Department]

Magnetic Elements in Each of Springfield's Magnet Schools

Springfield now has ten magnet schools which, this year, attracted over one thousand new applicants. It has five elementary magnets which recruit white and non-white students, and one elementary which makes a special effort to recruit Hispanic students from the Lincoln and Brightwood schools which are in a predominantly Hispanic area. Two junior high magnets working together aim to bring Hispanic students out of one school (Chestnut) and into the other (Van Sickle). Chestnut then recruits white non-Hispanic junior high students from all parts of the city to take the place of students who have left.

While all elementary magnet schools emphasize a strong basic skills program, each has added special features to its curriculum to attract students. Each has developed special programs to appeal to particular students in other districts.

Armory, a 5-6 school, has a strong math program with a computer lab which draws students from enrichment and challenge and also for remediation. It also supports a reading/language enrichment program serving all fifth and sixth grade students. Program activities include preparation of a literary magazine, a school newspaper, weekly radio broadcast and play productions.

Brightwood, a 1-4 magnet seeking only white non-Hispanic students, features a Hi-Intensity reading center which provides enrichment to all students from grades 2-4 on a bi-weekly basis, a music program which funds a part-time music teacher to begin instrumental music teaching to upper grade students. A new desegregation measure at Brightwood, an all-day kindergarten, was started in September of 1983. This all-day kindergarten, the first of its kind in the city, has been fully subscribed. A total of eleven white non-Hispanic students have been integrated with eleven neighborhood children for the program.

Kensington, a 1-4 school, seeks to attract students with a science Center program which emphasizes investigative science at the early grades. This program also encourages integration through activities which bring children together in small groups to work on science projects. Kensington also draws children to its special music and its language enrichment programs. With the addition of a part-time music teacher to the staff, the school is able to support a chorus and make a greater use of instruments in music.

Lincoln School, 1-4, like Brightwood, recruits only white non-Hispanic students. The programs, used to attract children, are the Hi-Intensity Reading and Math Centers, each of which provides an individualized service to children. The addition of ten computer terminals to Lincoln this year and the software in reading, math, and language to accompany these terminals will steadily increase to the attracting power of this school, it is anticipated. Lincoln also lists a music component as a magnet feature.

The magnet aspect of the New North Community School is not only the unique building, but also the special programs available there. An electronic piano lab with twenty-four electronic pianos offers each student the opportunity to learn some piano fundementals during the year. Other magnet features include an enrichment program, a publication center where a literary magazine of student work is printed monthly, a theater arts teacher who offers classes in creative drama and

[from Springfield School Department report]

also directs full-stage productions using multiple casts, a science lab program organized to encourage student investigations, and a child sponsored TV program presented daily to the whole school through closed-circuit television system.

Sumner Avenue School, (Gr. 1-4), offers students a distinct alternative to the traditional graded program. This non-graded school provides for all students to progress at their own rate without the restrictions of grade structure. Special magnet resources bring assistance to students in the individualized math program, in reading and language and also in music. Conversational Spanish is offered to all students on a regular basis.

Warner School, (Gr. 5-6), places emphasis in three areas: basic skills, self-development and mathematical enrichment. Additional staff in the areas of reading, language arts, and math allows for greater individualization and provides for reinforcement and enrichment. In promoting student self-development, responsibility for one's actions and self-discipline are stressed as the keys to developing positive relationships in all curriculum areas. Multicultural enrichment is provided through performers who bring to the students an awareness of likenesses and differences among the many people in our society and begin to build in students an appreciation for these.

White Street School, (Gr. 1-4), concentrates on attracting Hispanic students from Lincoln and Brightwood Schools. Its magnet features include a Spanish Maintenance Program, a science and a music program. Spanish Maintenance, requested by parents when this magnet was started, stresses reading and writing skills. A reading enrichment program builds upon children's interest in reading and expands their knowledge of authors and popular books. White Street also makes use of the Systems 80 TV-like screens to provide additional services for students in reading and math.

Van Sickle Junior High School, (Gr. 7-9), like White Street, recruits only Hispanic students from Chestnut Junior High School. The magnet features at this school are a Spanish Maintenance program to increase student skill in reading and writing in Spanish, and a Basic Skills Supplement to provide extra in English help for students who have demonstrated the need for assistance in social studies, science, math or reading. An Hispanic home/school liaison person assures parents that communication between them and the school will always be possible. In addition, a Career and Pre-Vocational Program emphasizes the wide choices of careers in society and seeks to give information to students and parents about high school programs leading to particular careers. It is anticipated that with more information, student selection of a high school will be an informed one, and will prove beneficial.

Chestnut Junior High School, (Gr. 7-9), in its efforts to attract white non-Hispanic students offers a computer math center to provide challenge enrichment for some students and remediation for others. Additional magnet features include a career exploration program to broaden student understanding and awareness of work/career opporunities, a science lab program which places great emphasis in experimentation and investigation and an expanded language arts component, which lengthens the language arts time allotment for seventh graders to facilitate the transition between elementary and junior high studies. Each program is expanded and enriched by field trips and special projects.

[from Springfield School Department report]

Special accomplishments in Springfield's continued integration efforts this past year include (1) the organization and dissemination of Successful Integration Techniques, a booklet describing some of the activities used by Springfield teachers and found to be successful. Each teacher received a copy of the booklet and requests from other communities have been forwarded to the Research Department; (2) the fully subscribed all-day kindergarten program, a new measure to bring white non-Hispanic children to the North End of the city; (3) the 500% increase in magnet enrollment at Chestnut Junior High, a new magnet in September of 1982. With enthusiastic recruitment in the Spring of 1983, the enrollment jumped from 7 to 45; (4) the almost tripling of the Van Sickle enrollment from 38 in 1982 to 108 in September of 1983.

In addition, some of the groundwork for a successful transition to a new high school has been accomplished. Teacher workshops to develop new curriculum have been held, each comprising teachers of both Classical and Technical high schools. One activity bringing together students from the four high schools culminated in a professionally directed and produced "West Side Story" musical. Saturday morning programs for eighth graders from all junior high schools have been successful and are being continued.

New measures to reduce Hispanic isolation are being planned at this time. With Springfield School Committee and State Board approval planning for the transfer of the Transitional Bilingual Education Program this year from Lincoln School (high Hispanic enrollment) to a school where Hispanic enrollment is low will begin. Lincoln School will then recruit children to a computer assisted instruction program which will be developed during the Spring of 1984.

[end of Springfield School Department report]

The evaluation cited above observes that a number of predominatly-white elementary schools contribute few students seeking magnet assignments, and that parents at these schools should be consulted as to the types of programs which would be attractive.

Parent comments about the magnet schools were included in the evaluation. Some of the most favorable are from white parents whose children attend the heavily-minority Brightwood (90%) and Lincoln (91%) schools voluntarily. Caring faculty, a good atmosphere, an interest in the individual child seem to be—in Springfield as elsewhere—the essential qualities of a school which is successful from the perspective of parents.

EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS

Springfield offers unusually rich materials for an assessment of educational improvement through the desegregation process, as a result of an active research effort and the regular reports on Chapter 636-funded programs alluded to above. For a detailed discussion and copious data we refer those interested to the 1982-1983 evaluation report, available from our office.

The basic conclusion from nearly ten years of effort is that minority student achievement has improved during desegregation, while achievement of white students has not suffered; this is consistent with such desegregation research nationwide. Overall achievement shows steady improvement.

1982-83 was Springfield's sixth successful year of using Chapter 636 funds to improve basic skills in reading and math. Almost half Springfield's 636 funds were used to fund basic skills improvement programs in thirty schools. Each program set precise performance objectives, and an evaluation was conducted of each to determine actual levels of achievement, to identify especially successful programs and to assess performance over the past six years.

Springfield funded 22 remedial programs in reading and math that served 912 students (37% white, 37% Black and 26% Hispanic) and 28 enrichment programs that served 1,894 students (57% white, 26% Black, and 20% Hispanic). In addition, 14 "total school programs" served 1,366 students.

In the remedial reading programs, 70% of the students showed month-for-month gain with an average actual grade equivalent gain of 13 months compared to an expected gain of seven months. Even in the reading enrichment program, where progress is more difficult to measure, 62% of the participants showed month-for-month gains, with an average actual grade equivalent gain of 11 months compared to an expected gain of seven months.

Remedial math programs, which ran in 14 schools, were more successful this year than at any time in the past. Seventy-two percent of the participating students attained the program's goal of uninterrupted month-for-month gain with an average actual grade equivalent gain of 10 months compared to an expected gain of seven months. Results from the four math enrichment programs were even more striking, with 75% of the participants attaining month-for-month gain with an average actual grade equivalent gain of 18 months compared to an expected gain of seven months.

Springfield also allocated 636 funds to eight science programs that served 616 students in grades 4-8. The programs not only promoted improved student achievement in science (63% of the students showed month-for-month gain with an average actual grade equivalent gain of 13 months compared to an expected gain of seven months), they also encouraged integration (the cross-racial selection at the five schools with science labs increased this year). The three-year old program at Chestnut Jr. High is particularly impressive; the average national percentile ranking of Chestnut students in science achievement has been considerably higher since implementation of the science program. It is obvious that 636 funds as used in Springfield not only promote integrated education but also produce improved achievement in basic skills.

Springfield evaluates its progress in integration as measured by the number of students who select classmates of another racial group in response to questions on a locally developed sociometric survey. The survey instrument has been administered to over 2,500 students in the third through sixth grades every year since 1978-1979. As described by the evaluator,

"The sociometric instrument is essentially an unobtrusive measure of integration. Students are asked to select one student from the class in response to each of seven questions:

1. Which classmate would you choose to work on a school project with?
2. Whom would you choose to eat lunch with?
3. Which classmate would you pair up with to go on a field trip?
4. Which student do you most like to play games with?
5. What student would you most like to have sit near you in school?
6. Who is your newest friend in the classroom?
7. Whom would you choose to come to your home for a party?"

The results from the analysis of these responses, covering five years and every elementary school in Springfield, are definitely encouraging as well as suggestive for integration efforts in other communities—and in Springfield schools which show comparatively low levels of cross-racial selections. The evaluator observes,

"...for the total population there is an increasing tendency for

students to select cross-racially...24 of the 30 schools have an increasing tendency to select cross-racially, and increases at several schools over the four year period are quite dramatic...of the top five schools, each at some point in the last five years has had one or more Chapter 636 programs designed to enhance integration by actively involving students in interactive situations on a regular basis...these schools had an average of 1.60 such programs per school per year. The bottom five schools, on the other hand, have had few of these programs, only 0.27 per school per year...students in the elementary schools are coming closer to making friendship selections that have no racial connotation whatsoever (i.e., are totally random)...while white students and girls have a lower rate than black students or boys, they are gradually gaining ground...students made about 2/3 of the selections which could randomly be expected compared to only 55% five years ago...only a few schools have shown a lack of progress toward increasing cross-racial selection rates or ratios of actual to expected cross-racial selections. New initiatives geared specifically toward increasing integration must be undertaken at these schools."

CONTINUING ISSUES

After fifteen years, Springfield is continuing to evolve its desegregation effort. It is fair to say that little "prodding" from the State is necessary, so closely has desegregation come to be associated with efforts to upgrade the quality and fairness of education in the community. The primary issues in 1984 are those alluded to in EEO Annual Reports for the past several years: the continuing isolation of Hispanic students in three schools, and the growing racial identifiability of the thematic high schools. It is possible to report that in both areas real progress has been made since we last reported to the Board. Although we are not yet seeing significant results, the planning around both issues has reached a level of specificity which seems to promise solutions.

High Schools

High school enrollments in Springfield show a clear pattern of racial identifiability. For example, more than 45% of the white high school students attend Classical High, but only 6.5% attend Technical High. By contrast, only 7.3% of the Hispanic high school students attend Classical, but 28.9% attend Technical. The pattern of hign school attendance is clear.

There is also a definite pattern of attendance by sex. Commerce High draws 34.9% of the high school girls, but only 18.6% of them attend Putnam Vocational. Putnam draws 37.5% of the boys, compared with 12.3% of them who attend Commerce.

It was to address these disproportions as well as to upgrade the quality of secondary programs in general that Springfield adopted its May 1982 Plan to achieve balance in race and gender in its high schools. This plan included measures dependent upon completion of new or renovated facilities, as well as an emphasis upon program modification, guidance, and recruitment.

The Springfield School Department has recently prepared an update on its progress in implementing the high school plan, as required by the Board when it approved the plan. We consider the following points especially significant:

(1) Comparison of racial proportions in each school in October 1981 and 1983 shows a rapid decline in white enrollment at Technical (from 29% to 19%—it was 44.1% in 1979!), a rapid increase in Hispanic enrollment at Putnam Vocational (from 12% to 17%), and a rapid increase in Black enrollment at Classical (from 21% to 27%). In general, the trends are positive for desegregation at Classical and Putnam, but negative at Commerce and Technical. In effect, the increasing minority proportion in Springfield is moving the predominantly white high schools toward desegregation and the predominantly minority high schools toward greater racial isolation.

(2) By contrast, there is slight but entirely positive change in enrollments by sex, with the proportion of boys at Commerce increasing from 26% to 32% and the proportion of girls at Putnam from 30% to 32%.

(3) Construction has begun for the new school, which will be located in a racially-neutral site. This had been the subject of repeated discussions between EEO and the School Department.

(4) Changes in the admission policy at Putnam—with involvement of the Regional Center and of EEO—will support an increase in minority and female enrollment. Programs at Putnam have been grouped into clusters with modified requirements; this will permit more flexibility and encourage enrollment starting in the eleventh grade as well as starting in the tenth. All of the programs have been organized around competency based performance objectives to permit students to progress at their own pace.

(5) The curriculum of Commerce High has been extensively revised, with a new stress on word processing and data processing to increase the attractiveness of the school. A college preparatory course in Business Administration has been established. Chapter 636 funds were used to involve staff in very extensive program development activities.

(6) Sophisticated guidance and recruitment is encouraging students to consider and pursue "non-traditional" careers. Outreach from high schools to junior high schools and media presentations for students and their parents are seeking to create interest in choices based upon individual talents and interests rather than sexual or racial stereotypes.

(7) Additional counselling support is provided to minority and female students who have enrolled in non-traditional programs, and to such students who have not yet enrolled but are candidates. This support helps to identify the elements which can lead to success for the students. A committee of secondary counsellors is monitoring the effectiveness of these measures.

(8) Special efforts are being made to reduce the number of minority dropouts from Putnam Vocational.

In short, Springfield is making an impressive effort to create program and recruitment supports for desegregation, rather than wait for and rely upon a new facility to do the job. This is clearly what was lacking in the implementation of Boston's vocational education desegregation plan, and is still largely missing several years after the Occupational Resource Center opened.

Junior High Schools

The 1968 junior high school plan closed the predominantly-Black Buckingham School and reassigned its students to six other schools. More recently Chestnut Street Junior High had come to be more than 90% minority, particularly Hispanic, and to enroll the majority of the Hispanic intermediate students in Springfield.

The enrollment of Chestnut was reduced through reassignments in 1979 and 1981, but these measures had more impact on overcrowding than on racial identifiability. In our 1982 Annual Report we concluded that efforts to desegregate the school appeared to be stalled.

Over the past year, however, the efforts to attract white students into and Hispanic students out of Chestnut Street on a magnet basis have gathered momentum. The number of white students enrolled voluntarily has increased from seven to 45, while 101 Hispanic students volunteer out to Van Sickle, and 21 to Kennedy Junior High.

In addition, the 1982-83 evaluation report reaches encouraging conclusions about the programs at Chestnut Street.

It seems, therefore, that the present strategy is on the right track. The School Department has indicated that it may recommend that the bilingual program at Chestnut Street be moved to another suitable site in 1985-86. This would not only permit additional voluntary white enrollment and reduce Hispanic enrollment, but would also permit TBE students to be mainstreamed more effectively.

Chestnut Street was over 90% minority in 1980, 1981, and 1982; it is 87% minority in 1983, with 77% of its enrollment Hispanic, leaving it tied for the second highest Hispanic percentage in the state.

Elementary Schools

The Massachusetts school with the highest (88%) Hispanic percentage is Springfield's Lincoln; tied for next highest is Brightwood (77%).

These schools have been the subject of continuing discussions over the years since the Board's 1975 Order to reduce the isolation of Hispanic students. It has become increasingly clear that the present magnet measures alone will not desegregate the two schools.

Currently 35 white students attend Lincoln and 33 attend Brightwood on a "magnet" basis, while 43 Hispanic students leave the two schools to attend White Street. The numbers are up somewhat from 1982-83; nevertheless there has been nothing like the dramatic change experienced by Worcester's Clark Street School, which went from 91% minority to 37% minority in two years. At Clark Street it was necessary to create space for magnet enrollment by relocating the bilingual program—with the understanding and support of parents—to another school.

Springfield is now exploring a similar approach. If approved by the School Committee and the Board, this approach would move the Lincloln TBE program for September 1984, and the Brightwood program for September 1985. Expanded magnet programs at both schools would attract significantly more white students (as at Clark Street

in Worcester); Chapter 636 funds would also be used to create an enriched educational environment for the bilingual students at the two schools where the programs would be accommodated. Mainstreaming of bilingual students would be improved by locating their programs in schools with a high proportion of native English-speaking students.

EEO recommended in January 1984 that the Board fund a process of planning and parent involvement to consider this and other options. The School Department now intends to submit a revision of the Six District Plan to the Board in April, based upon these local discussions, to reduce significantly the isolation of Hispanic students in the Lincoln and Brightwood Schools. Priority will be given to protecting the integrity of bilingual education, as in other recent desegregation plans in Massachusetts.

Summary

Springfield is making significant progress in implementing its high school race/gender desegregation plan.

Voluntary transfers have made a difference at three schools with a very high proportion of Hispanic students, but the impact has been insufficient. New planning should result in specific proposals to the Board in April, leading to effective desegregation of these schools.

Evaluation of Chapter 636-funded programs designed to support desegregation indicates substantial progress in basic skills and other areas.

Springfield has done more than other desegregating systems to measure integration gains, using the same evaluation instrument each year. Substantial progress has been made, and the system has identified teachers whose classroom practices have an especially positive impact on racial attitudes and choices of friends without consideration of race. Other teachers have been encouraged to employ these practices. In short, the system is seeking deliberately to move from desegregation to integration and educational improvement.

Note: On February 1st and 2nd Charles Glenn visited Brightwood, Lincoln and Chestnut Street schools, and discussed with Springfield officials the community involvement process by which minority isolation in these schools will be addressed.

WORCESTER

The minority population in Worcester is a much smaller part of overall public school enrollment than is the case in Boston or Springfield, and the desegregation challenge in the three communities cannot be compared, but the progress made in Worcester over the past several years is significant it its own right. Despite the extreme difficulty of coming to grips with desegregation without Court intervention–as in Boston and Springfield–the leadership of the Worcester Public Schools resolved at last to do so, and were able to draw upon the support of a broad range of staff and parents. Worcester is in its own way a notable success story for local leadership, for parent choice, and for desegregation.

In 1978 the Worcester public school enrollment was 13% minority, compared with 45% in Springfield and 60% in Boston. Minority enrollment increased by 24% in Worcester between October 1978 and October 1983, bringing the proportion to 20%. Compared to many other Massachusetts and American cities, of course, this is a low proportion of minority students. Boston is now 71% minority, Springfield 54%, Lawrence 48%, Chelsea 46%, and Holyoke and Cambridge 41% minority. The increase in minority enrollment in Worcester, however, is second only to that in Lawrence among Massachusetts communities, and there is no reason to believe that this trend will be reversed.

The rapid growth in Worcester–as generally elsewhere in Massachusetts–is in Hispanic enrollment, which now represents 11% of the total. Worcester has 1/4 as many Hispanic students as Boston, but only 1/20 as many Black students; it ranks fifth among Massachusetts communities, after Boston, Springfield, Lawrence, and Holyoke, in Hispanic enrollment.

In 1978 there were three elementary schools in Worcester with a majority of Hispanic and Black students: Clark Street (73%), Chandler Street (69%), and Woodland Street (53%). Together these schools enrolled nearly half (47%) of the Hispanic elementary students in Worcester. Five years later these three schools enrolled under one quarter (24%) of the Hispanic elementary students. Clearly, Hispanic students are much less highly co-centrated in the schools with which they were identified five years ago.

In 1979 EEO began to discuss with the system the prospective closing of a number of schools as a result of declining enrollment. It was clear that several of the proposals would have the effect of increasing the isolation of minority students at Chandler and Woodland Street Schools unless they were combined with deliberate efforts to reduce that isolation. To complicate the planning task, earlier decisions of the system appeared to have contributed to the problem, and in at least one instance the state had provided the financial support and so would be implicated if litigation were to develop, as it had in Boston, Holyoke and Springfield. Finally, it was clear that a substantial number of elementary students were not attending their "neighborhood schools," and that the voluntary movement of white students was contributing to minority isolation, and the involuntary movement of Hispanic students was creating inequities.

When the School Committee adopted a school closing plan, in 1980, which did not take account of the need to correct minority isolation and its own potential legal liability, it was clear that the Board and School Committee might soon be in court, either as adversaries or as co-defendants in a suit brought on behalf of minority students. Such a suit was in fact already pending, bearing upon bilingual education and related issues, and the plaintiffs showed interest in broadening it to raise the basic constitutional issues which permitted such a sweeping remedy in Boston. The Commissioner was clear that it was primarily the Board's obligation to protect the constitutional rights of minority students, and that it was essential that Worcester develop a remedy to minority isolation and to any unconstitutional practices which would be in effect when the proposed school closings took effect, in September 1981.

After extensive negotiations, technical assistance, and local school/community planning, the Worcester School Committee adopted a preliminary desegregation plan on June 18, 1981. This plan included moderate redistricting, consolidation of bilingual programs in fewer schools, located near but not in the areas of heaviest Hispanic concentration, and development of three magnet schools.

EEO was not able to recommend approval of this plan due to concerns over its stability, actual effectiveness, and failure to resolve several outstanding complaints of the Hispanic community about educational support for Hispanic students. On the other hand, the plan represented substantial enough progress that we did not oppose its implementation in September 1981 as a prudent first step in the development of a long-range and stable solution to minority isolation. Chapter 636 funding was provided for continuing development and implementation of the magnet options, and for educational support as students were transferred.

The first stage of implementation, in September 1981, consisted of the mandatory redistricting and program relocation measures; it was followed, in September 1982, with the first round of voluntary transfers to magnet schools, and in September 1983 by additional magnet transfers. The following chart shows the enrollment of key schools each year, with an asterisk(*) marking the year that certain schools became magnets.

Impact of Desegregation in 1981, 1982, and 1983 (Percent Minority)

	1978	1980	1981	1982	1983
Belmont Street	36%	47.7%	60.7%	63.2%	61%
Burncoat Street	7%	10%	29.2%	44.9%*	43%
Canterbury Street	5%	1.5%	7%	12%	31%*
Chandler Street	69%	81.4%	43.5%	46%	46%
Clark Street	73%	90.7%	72.7%	37%*	32%
Columbus Park	6%	18%	23.2%	28%	33%*
Elm Park	28%	29%	39.3%	46.6%	46%
Harlow Street	5%	3.8%	5.4%	36%*	33%
Lincoln Street	3%	7%	45.7%	46.6%	50%
St. Nicholas Avenue	34%	49.4%	55.1%	55.5%	51%*
Thorndyke Road	2%	2%	23.9%	22.4%	24%
Woodland Street	53%	49.6%	54.1%	55.9%	58%

It is obvious that the enrollment of these schools is within a much narrower range than was the case in 1978 or 1980. Woodland Street will be significantly more desegregated if and when Worcester is able to build a replacement for Canterbury Street; this project, which is an integral part of Worcester's desegregation plan, would increase substantially the enrollment of minority students from the Woodland Street area, to supplement the voluntary enrollment, this year, of 48 minority students on a magnet basis.

Belmont Street and St. Nicholas Avenue grew more heavily minority as a result of the consolidation of bilingual programs in these schools as part of the desegregation of Chandler Street and Clark Street. In both cases there has been more real desegregation gain than is apparent from the overall minority figure. While Chandler Street had been 59% Hispanic, for example, Belmont Street was only 35% Hispanic after the program transfer, with 17% Black and 10% Asian enrollment. In other words, Belmont Street is more racially-diverse than Chandler Street was prior to desegregation. Nevertheless, new magnet measures are now attracting minority students out of Belmont Street and white students into St. Nicholas Avenue, where the Board will hold its March meeting. In addition,

some of the minority students who were redistricted out of Clark Street into the contiguous St. Nicholas Avenue School will have the option of enrolling in Clark Street on a magnet basis, thus further reducing the concentration at St. Nicholas Avenue and creating additional space for white students to transfer in. Worcester is thus using magnet schools for the "fine-tuning" of desegregation through parent choice which has been so successful in Cambridge and in Springfield.

As noted above, the desegregation plan adopted by the Worcester School Committee in June 1981 was not presented to the Board for approval. Over the following months the successful outcome of discussions with Hispanic parents, the energy with which magnet schools were implemented, and the development of long-range measures including the Canterbury Street replacement made it possible for us to recommend approval of a comprehensive plan which promises to be stable and effective. This plan was approved by the School Committee and then by the Board—after remarks by the Mayor and Superintendent expressing their continuing commitment—in March 1983.

In Worcester the process of desegregation has unfolded in several stages, starting from rather modest first steps. Unlike the plans which Boston and Springfield implemented in 1974, under orders from the Board of Education sustained by state and federal courts, the Worcester plan has been negotiated step by step, with the school system and Committee growing more willing to adopt a strong and stable plan as the early stages of implementation proved relatively painless and educationally beneficial. The state role has been to maintain a steady but quiet pressure, with particular focus upon considerations of equity and long-term stability.

The notable development in 1983 was the continuing development of magnet schools, each of them an existing "neighborhood school" which has chosen to go through the process of identifying existing strengths, building upon them through a process involving staff and parents, and then recruiting students from outside the attendance district. Superintendent Durkin has not been afraid to speak of schools competing with one another and with non-public schools, and of the need for each school in the system—magnet or not—to be committed to responding aggressively to the interests and concerns of parents. In a sense this process unlocks the energy and initiative which too often lie dormant in a school.

The development of magnet schools in Worcester has built upon the results of several broad surveys of parents. These surveys—similar to one conducted earlier in Lowell—have provide invaluable information about what parents are looking for in schools. Of

particular importance has been the finding that parents differ substantially, with significant numbers preferring a "fundamental" school, while almost equal numbers preferring a "continuous progress" school (both types of schools are described in more detail in the survey instrument). This means that schools which are clearly of either type will have some parents seeking to transfer their children in, and others seeking to transfer their children out. Rather than seek to please (or not displease) every parent, such schools can concentrate on developing a particular approach so that they will be highly attractive and pleasing to some parents.

The surveys included not only options in educational aproach, but also in grade structure and supplemental educational programs, and their results are being implemented, so that the Worcester Public Schools—which presumably have always had schools perceived as being "better" or "worse," as indicated by the large number of white students who transferred voluntarily prior to desegregation—now are developing a conscious and equitable diversity which is making them better able to respond to the demands of a pluralistic society. Clark Street and Columbus Park, for example, have become K-8 schools because a survey found that structure highly popular among some parents (and unpopular among others!).

EEO is now working with all of the desegregating school systems to develop a survey format which could be used in each of them to produce useful information for planning and policy, as has been the case in Worcester and in Lowell. In a sense this builds upon a long-standing commitment to parent involvement, which has relied too exclusively upon involvement in parent councils alone. By giving parents a "vote" on school options through surveys, and then an even more powerful vote through their ability to choose among diverse schools, the desegregation process has created an environment—in Worcester as in other systems—in which parent councils themselves have become more significant, and the principal who ignored them would be foolish indeed.

It has been intersting to observe that the special emphases of magnet schools in Worcester have been well whithin the educational mainstream, with the basis for attraction less a specialized or "groovy" program than a promise to do what every school seeks to do, with a more focused intentionality. Following are extracts from the recruitment brochures prepared by the three schools which became "magnets" in 1983-84:

Canterbury Street

The Canterbury Street Computer-Based Magnet School will offer a kindergarten through grade 6 program that will assist the school staff to:

- Provide every child with a complete basic skills program tailored to each individual child's educational needs through the use of modern computer technology.

- Provide an opportunity for every child to be "computer literate," so that he/she understands how to use computers as a tool for learning and everyday uses.

- Provide an opportunity for every child to be equipped to earn a living in a high technology world of the future.

- Develop each child's ability to think clearly and critically by participating in a computer program.

- Provide every child with a completely individualized educational program to benefit from the growing list of materials which cover the following subject areas:

Reading Language Arts Social Studies Music
Mathematics Science Art Physical Education

The school's special program will be the individualized/computer-based learning program in basic skills and other subjects. This will mean that:

- Every child will move through the curriculum at his/her most appropriate speed. The latest diagnostic and correction techniques will be used to insure the proper instructional level for each child.

- Advanced students who have completed the regular curriculum will be able to work independently on their own projects.

- All students will be expected to achieve at or above grade level in reading and mathematics.

- All students will be expected to achieve at a level commensurate with their ability.

Discipline will be considered an important part of the school environment. Parents will be expected to cooperate in a partnership to insure the success of the school program.

The reading/language arts and mathematics programs will have a special block of time each day, with children taught at individual achievement levels in self-contained classrooms.

Columbus Park

- The Columbus Park Magnet Preparatory Academy will be a magnet school with grades Kindergarten through Grade Eight.

- The Academy will offer a "non-nonsense," back-to-basics education, concentrating on the basic skills of reading, writing, mathematics, science and social studies.

- The Academy will emphasize discipline and order and will expect a high level of self control and responsibility on the part of each student. All students will be expected to learn that all of our rights are accompanied by responsibilities and that we all need to respect our fellow men, regardless of anyone's ethnic origin. It is this sense of responsibility that is the foundation of democracy and makes the American dream possible.

- Parents, students, teachers and the school administration will work together to make sure that the school maintains high academic standards. By the time a student graduates from the eighth grade, he/she will be expected to be achieving at or above national grade level.

- The Academy's curriculum will be highly structured and will be based upon children learning in self-contained classrooms with one teacher and a pupil teacher ratio of no more than 25 to 1. There will be two classes at each grade level from kindergarten through grade eight.

- The Academy will have two full-day kindergartens with a strong readiness program in the mornings in the basic subjects of language and reading, mathematics and social studies. The afternoons will be devoted to health, science, music, art and physical education. Early in the school year, a teacher-

administered test will identify each child's areas of strength and those in need of further development. The results of this early evaluation will determine the direction of each child's program.

- In addition to daily lessons in reading writing and mathematics, students will enrich their basic skills in the Academy's Library Media Center through the use of computers and other high technology aids such as video discs, cameras, tape recorders, etc.

- The Academy will offer a departmentalized program to all seventh and eighth graders, with each teacher specializing in one of the major subjects of English, mathematics, social studies and science. There will be a developmental and individualized reading program for all students. Students not achieving at grade level will have individualized and reinforced study plans. All students will receive special guidance and planning in relation to senior high courses and program selections.

- The Academy is equipped with a complete gymnasium and will attempt to offer an expanded physical education program for all students, with the possibility of an inter-school competitive sports program for seventh and eighth graders.

St. Nicholas Avenue

The educational program at St. Nicholas Avenue Classical Learning Center is a Kindergarten through grade 6 program that will develop a strong learning base which will enable the children to expand beyond the basics to a broader range of educational experiences. There will be an emphasis on technical skills in all curriculum areas.

The basic philosophy underlying the St. Nicholas Avenue Classical Learning Center is governed by the following principles:

- The primary goal of the curriculum is to enhance the intellectual, social and emotional development of the total child.

- All children need to develop the basic and technical skills required in each content area.

- All children need to be challenged by an expanded curriculum.

- All children need to develop the ability to communicate their thoughts and feelings.

- All children need the opportunity to experiment, discover, collect, explore, learn and grow in their academic environment.

- The teacher is the catalyst for creating a favorable school environment and for encouraging each student's individual progress.

The Classical Learning Center is comprised of a K-6 standard curriculum and a K-6 bilingual program supported by art, guidance, library, music and physical educational programs. The school plant offers an extensive media center, full-sized gymnasium, and an all-purpose room where a hot lunch program is served. The school will also have a computer network system. The school has both self-contained and open-space classrooms.

The St. Nicholas Avenue Classical Learning Center encourages parental involvement in the child's total learning.

- The Reading Program will group children according to ability at both primary and intermediate levels, with emphasis on the basic skills. It will offer a variety of educational resources to expand the skills of each individual child.

- The Language Arts Program stress the technical skills used in written and oral communication. A concentration on classical children's literature will be an integral part of both programs. Formal penmanship lessons will be taught.

- The Mathematics Program will involve mastery of basic addition, subtraction, multiplication and division facts. In addition, all levels will stress problem solving, measurement and geometry.

- The Computer Network will offer a well-rounded program in grades K-6. There will be special emphasis on two areas within computer education: computer assisted instruction and computer literacy.

The computer-assisted instruction portion of the program will provide individualized programs for pupils in mathematics and reading. Each child assigned to these classes will have approximately one hour of computer time each week.

The literacy portion of the program will help against the children with the workings of the computer and the essential elements of BASIC Programming.

These computer programs will offer students a scholastic advantage when they enter the Junior High School.

- A Departmentalized Approach to learning will be incorporated in the intermediate grades. This will allow for an in-depth concentration in each content area.

- A Science Program will be developed throughout the grades, focusing on experimentation, as well as utilizing the expertise of consultants.

- A Life Skills Approach will be incorporated into the curriculum to enhance the educational process. Children will be made aware of issues such as consumerism, handling money, life writing skills, etc.

The entire curriculum at the St. Nicholas Avenue Classical Learning Center will focus on developing the technical skills in each subject area. Technical skills are the basic tools needed for understanding the process involved in learning within each area. For example, in writing a report, the technical aspects would be research skills, use of primary and secondary sources of information, outlining and proof reading. With content and process working side by side, the child will have the necessary skills for life-long learning.

Development and implementation of these programs has been supported by the Board of Education through Chapter 636 grants; this year Worcester has received over $700,000 under this program.

The decision to deal with minority isolation and the quality of education in those schools attended by most minority students through the systematic development - at the schoolhouse level - of educational options which parents perceive as meeting the needs of their children has started Worcester in the direction

of a general strengthening of elementary education. Progress to date has been most encouraging; what is needed now is an approach to evaluation of the actual results which is as careful as that developed in Springfield.

Worcester is so convinced of the educational value of this approach to desegregation that the school system is sponsoring a state-wide conference in April on issues of parent choice, equity, and educational improvement. Planning the conference with Worcester are representatives from almost all of the urban school systems discussed in this Report.

The late Ron Edmunds, in his research on effective schools, concluded that only urban schools which educate students who are difficult to educate could really be considered "effective," and only then if they had well-defined objectives, strong educational leadership, and a commitment to continual self-criticism and development. The spirit behind the April conference is a conviction that magnet schools have just these qualities, and that the story of how they become effective has something to offer to education in the Commonwealth.

CHANGE IN RACIAL/ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF MINORITY ENROLLMENT, 1978 TO 1983

DISTRICT	MINORITY PERCENTAGE 1978	BLACK PERCENTAGE 1978	HISPANIC PERCENTAGE 1978	ASIAN PERCENTAGE 1978	MINORITY PERCENTAGE 1983	BLACK PERCENTAGE 1983	HISPANIC PERCENTAGE 1983	ASIAN PERCENTAGE 1983
BOSTON	60.2	44	12	3	71.5	48	16	7
BROCKTON	11.1	7	3	0	16.5	10	4	1
CAMBRIDGE	31.6	21	7	2	41.9	27	9	4
CHELSEA	26.9	3	22	1	46.1	3	37	4
FRAMINGHAM	8.5	3	3	1	13.5	4	6	2
HOLYOKE	26.4	4	21	0	41.5	4	37	0
LAWRENCE	32.3	2	29	0	48.6	2	43	1
LOWELL	11.7	2	8	0	18.8	2	12	4
LYNN	10.3	6	3	0	14.2	7	5	1
MEDFORD	4.3	3	0	0	5.3	4	0	0
METHUEN	3.0	0	2	0	5.4	0	4	0
NEW BEDFORD	18.6	12	5	0	20.1	12	7	0
SPRINGFIELD	45.4	28	16	0	54.0	29	24	0
WORCESTER	13.0	4	7	0	20.5	5	11	1

RANK ORDER OF SCHOOLS WITH 20% OR GREATER ASIAN ENROLLMENT IN 1983

DISTRICT	SCHOOL	% ASIAN ENROLLMENT 1983
BOSTON	FARRAGUT	20
BOSTON	BRIGHTON	20
BOSTON	MICHELANGELO	24
BOSTON	CHARLESTOWN	25
BOSTON	EDISON JR	26
BOSTON	WARREN-PRESCOTT	33
BOSTON	EDWARDS	34
BOSTON	HARVARD-KENT	39
BOSTON	JACKSON MANN	40
BOSTON	QUINCY	45
BOSTON	BALDWIN	48
BOSTON	HAMILTON	59

RANK ORDER OF SCHOOLS WITH AN HISPANIC ENROLLMENT GREATER THAN 60% IN 1983

DISTRICT	SCHOOL	% HISPANIC ENROLLMENT 1983
BOSTON	KENNEDY	61
LAWRENCE	OLIVER JR HI	61
HOLYOKE	MCMAHON	62
LAWRENCE	LEAHY	62
LAWRENCE	HENNESSEY	63
BOSTON	HERNANDEZ	65
LAWRENCE	ARLINGTON	68
LAWRENCE	LEONARD	70
LAWRENCE	TARBOX	70
HOLYOKE	MORGAN	73
SPRINGFIELD	BRIGHTWOOD	77
SPRINGFIELD	CHESTNUT ST JR HI	77
SPRINGFIELD	LINCOLN	88

RANK ORDER OF SCHOOLS WITH 70% OR GREATER BLACK ENROLLMENT IN 1983

DISTRICT	SCHOOL	% BLACK ENROLLMENT 1983
BOSTON	R SHAW	70
BOSTON	P.Shaw	72
BOSTON	MURPHY	74
BOSTON	HOLMES	74
BOSTON	LEWENBERG	74
BOSTON	FIFIELD	76
BOSTON	BURKE	76
BOSTON	HYDE PARK	76
BOSTON	ENDICOTT	78
BOSTON	STONE	79
BOSTON	TAYLOR	81
BOSTON	CHITTICK	81
BOSTON	WILSON	81
BOSTON	THOMPSON	82

SCHOOLS WITH AN INCREASE OF 100 OR MORE MINORITY STUDENTS BETWEEN 1978 AND 1983, IN RANK ORDER BY AMOUNT OF CHANGE

	DISTRICT	SCHOOL	MINORITY ENROLLMENT 1978	MINORITY ENROLLMENT 1983	INCREASE IN # OF STUDENTS
*	WORCESTER	CANTERBURY STREET	26	127	101
	LOWELL	BARTLETT JR HIGH	164	268	104
	SPRINGFIELD	LINCOLN	402	506	104
*	HOLYOKE	KIRTLAND	14	120	106
	SPRINGFIELD	FOREST PARK JR HIGH	319	425	106
*	WORCESTER	BURNCOAT STREET	25	134	109
	LOWELL	WASHINGTON	9	127	118
	BROCKTON	ARNONE	199	320	121
*	WORCESTER	LINCOLN STREET	8	129	121
	WORCESTER	BELMONT ST	215	338	123
*	WORCESTER	COLUMBUS PARK	25	148	123
	BROCKTON	BROCKTON HIGH	640	764	124
	WORCESTER	DOHERTY MEM HIGH	125	249	124
	LOWELL	DALEY JR HIGH	22	154	132
*	CAMBRIDGE	HARRINGTON	54	189	135
	HOLYOKE	PECK	274	417	143
	WORCESTER	BURNCOAT SR HIGH	111	254	143
*	CAMBRIDGE	PEABODY	74	220	146
	HOLYOKE	HOLYOKE HIGH	302	456	154
	CHELSEA	CHELSEA HIGH	228	392	164
	LAWRENCE	LEONARD	332	503	171
*	HOLYOKE	METCALF	8	184	176
	LAWRENCE	LEAHY	236	430	194
	LOWELL	LOWELL HIGH	246	451	205
*	SPRINGFIELD	CLASSICAL HIGH	294	515	221
*	HOLYOKE	HIGHLAND	23	247	224
	CHELSEA	SHURTLEFF	297	550	253
	LAWRENCE	BRUCE	200	498	298
	CAMBRIDGE	RINDGE AND LATIN	792	1114	322
	LAWRENCE	LAWRENCE HIGH	443	796	353
	** TOTAL **		6107	11025	4918

* change a consequence of desegregation

SCHOOLS WITH AN INCREASE OF 50 OR MORE IN WHITE ENROLLMENT FROM 1978 TO 1983, IN RANK ORDER

	DISTRICT	SCHOOL	1978 WHITE ENROLLMENT	1983 WHITE ENROLLMENT	WHITE ENROLLMENT INCREASE
	BOSTON	BOSTON LATIN ACADEMY	629	680	51
	METHUEN	PLEASANT VALLEY	204	255	51
	NEW BEDFORD	HANNIGAN	310	363	53
	BOSTON	MCKINLEY	16	72	56
	LAWRENCE	SALNDERS	195	251	56
	WORCESTER	NELSON PLACE	368	426	58
*	CAMBRIDGE	GRAHAM PARKS NEW ALT	113	172	59
	METHUEN	HOWE	190	253	63
	WORCESTER	GATES LANE	316	386	70
	LYNN	LYNN ENGLISH	1461	1538	77
	LYNN	DREWICZ ELEM	314	393	79
*	CAMBRIDGE	FLETCHER	121	201	80
	BROCKTON	KENNEDY	543	634	91
*	LYNN	WASHINGTON COMMUNITY	83	179	96
	LAWRENCE	ROLLINS	252	350	98
	WORCESTER	TATNUCK	327	448	121
*	HOLYOKE	KELLY	122	260	138
*	LAWRENCE	LEONARD	61	206	145
	WORCESTER	NORTH HIGH	720	883	163
*	WORCESTER	CLARK ST COMMUNITY	72	236	164
	BROCKTON	DAVIS	510	826	316
	BROCKTON	BROCKFIELD	616	954	338
	** TOTAL **		7543	9966	2423

* change a consequence of desegregation

MASSACHUSETTS MAGNET SCHOOLS IN 1983-84

District	1983-4 Total Magnets	1983 Black Students	Total White Students	1983 Other Students	Total Students 1983-84	Voluntary Black Students	1983 White Students	Voluntary Other Students	Total Voluntary 1983-84
Boston	21	7467	4895	3483	15845	7467	4895	3483	15845
Boston High		386	160	163	709	386	160	163	709
Boston Latin Academy		432	626	160	1218	432	626	160	1218
Boston Latin School		475	1330	401	2206	475	1330	401	2206
Boston Technical High		539	281	275	1095	539	281	275	1095
Copley Square High		286	123	96	505	286	123	96	505
English High		1021	355	288	1664	1021	355	288	1664
Madison Park High		1167	525	388	2080	1167	525	388	2080
Umana High School		525	258	207	990	525	258	207	990
King Middle		303	107	132	542	303	107	132	542
Mackey Middle		235	117	115	467	235	117	115	467
Wheatley Middle		176	83	70	329	176	83	70	329
Curley Elementary		153	72	58	283	153	72	58	283
Guild Elementary		140	64	29	233	140	64	29	233
Hale Elementary		122	55	38	215	122	55	38	215
Haley Elementary		171	76	59	306	171	76	59	306
Hennigan Elementary		222	123	232	577	222	123	232	577
Hernandez Elementary		47	22	131	200	47	22	131	200
Jackson Mann Elementar		242	121	284	647	242	121	284	647
McKay Elementary		263	137	91	491	263	137	91	491
Ohrenberger Elementary		245	109	133	487	245	109	133	487
Trotter Elementary		317	151	133	601	317	151	133	601
Brockton	1				806	6	69	5	80
Armone		164	486	156	806	6	69	5	80
Cambridge	3	491	728	151	1370	416	453	0	869
Graham/Parks		131	172	27	330	158	171		329
King		178	238	41	457	122	160		282
Tobin		182	318	83	583	136	122		258
Holyoke	4	90	846	827	1733	6	238	110	354
Lawrence		12	223	294	529	1	91	56	148
Kelly		24	260	241	525	4	108	22	134
Morgan		9	64	205	278	0	39	0	39
McMahon		15	299	87	401	1	0	32	33

note: "voluntary" refers to students who attend on the basis of an application process rather than because of residence within an attendance district

	1983-4 Total Magnets	1983 Black Students	Total White Students	1983 Other Students	Total Students 1983-84	Voluntary Black Students	1983 White Students	Voluntary Other Students	Total Voluntary 1983-84
Lowell	7	287	1785	725	2797	33	237	251	521
Arts		195	101	45	341	12	102	50	164
Bartlett		25	445	243	713	0	3	1	4
City		20	131	61	212	21	128	63	212
Green		10	97	97	204	0	4	0	4
Greenhalge		9	386	87	482	0	0	5	5
Lincoln		17	203	55	275	0	0	11	11
Rogers		11	422	137	570	0	0	121	121
Lynn	1	52	179	88	319	1	45	0	46
Washington Community		52	179	88	319	1	45	0	46
Medford	2	78	227	8	313	2	61	3	66
Brooks		44	108	4	156	2	21	1	24
Harvey		34	119	4	157	0	40	2	42
New Bedford	0				0				
Springfield	11	1488	2295	2867	6650	339	491	213	1043
Armory		117	252	157	526	22	66	25	113
Beal					0				
Brightwood		52	41	328	421	6	33	0	39
Kensington		119	239	64	422	60	21	7	88
Lincoln		16	49	490	555	4	35	0	39
New North		186	303	480	969	103	199	4	306
Sumner		115	231	105	451	58	34	5	97
Warner		155	203	24	382	86	60	7	153
White Street		78	198	91	367	0	0	43	43
Chestnut St.Jr.High		98	114	729	941	0	43	0	43
Kennedy Jr. High		232	284	140	656	0	0	21	21
Van Sickle		320	381	259	960	0	0	101	101
Worcester	5	264	1370	569	2203	150	463	390	1003
Burncoat Street		66	173	68	307	27	7	21	55
Canterbury Street		32	271	95	398	23	15	77	115
Clark Street		41	236	74	351	5	176	14	195
Columbus Park		75	300	73	448	54	82	35	171
Harlow Street		37	195	63	295	28	18	47	93
St. Nicholas Avenue		13	195	196	404	13	165	156	374
	56	10269	12568	8796	32036	8420	6952	4455	19827

ELEMENTS OF DESEGREGATION PLANS IN MASSACHUSETTS IN 1982

School System with Desegregation Plan	Mandatory for Students						Voluntary for Students					
	Construction/Renovation	Redistricting	Pairing or Clustering (for example, K-3 and 4-6)	Feeder Schools (for example, K-5 into K-8)	Movement of Programs	School Closings	Magnet Schools	Controlled Transfer (student-initiated movement to a non-magnet school)	Controlled Choice Assignments (options for students entering the system, subject to desegregation constraints)	Part-time magnet programs		Court-ordered or Endorsed
BOSTON	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X		X
CAMBRIDGE	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X		
HOLYOKE		X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X
LAWRENCE	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X		
LOWELL		X					X	X		X		
LYNN							X	X				
MEDFORD			X				X	X				
NEW BEDFORD	X	X				X		X		X		
SPRINGFIELD	X	X	X		X	X	X	X				X
WORCESTER	X	X			X	X	X	X				